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Butrus-Ghali Interviewed on Using Force in B-H

PM2001112294 London THE EUROPEAN in English 21-27 Jan 94 p 8

[Interview with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali by Ian Mather; place and date not given: "Ties That Bind the Hands of the United Nations"]

[Text] [Mather] Are you going to order air strikes in Bosnia?

[Butrus-Ghali] We have received a request from NATO in Brussels to study what could be done in Srebrenica and Tuzla. But the situation is more complicated than it appears. We have already had two preparatory meetings and we hope to have a blueprint very soon, in the next few days.

[Mather] Why is all this taking so long? You have been considering military action for months.

[Butrus-Ghali] It is a completely new situation. Until now we have been involved with protection. NATO also wants the rotation of troops in Srebrenica—the replacement of the Canadian battalion by Dutch troops—to be carried out. This is an operation of a different nature. There is also the question of the chain of command. Today, for instance, I had a long telephone call from Cairo saying the impression there is that NATO is ready to use air strikes, but that I want to prevent it from doing so.

What can we do when we are dealing with disinformation? The chain of command is for the military command on the ground to ask for air support. But I cannot take a decision by myself. I am not on the ground in Bosnia. And during the past two months I have not received any demand for air strikes.

[Mather] What about the position of the individual governments that would carry out the attacks?

[Butrus-Ghali] That is another aspect. Today I received a note from the Russian federation saying: "We want to remind you that you cannot take any decision before consulting the Security Council." So even after I have received a request for air strikes and supposing that I am in favour, I have to consult the Security Council, according to one of its permanent members. This has added a new echelon to the chain of command.

[Mather] At the recent NATO summit in Brussels President Mitterrand made it clear that he wants force to be used.

[Butrus-Ghali] Let us be perfectly clear. Supposing that I have overcome all the obstacles and I send a message to NATO saying "Use force," I have no way to compel NATO governments to use force. They are free to do so or not. Who will decide within NATO? The member states.

[Mather] You have proposed that UN member governments should allocate troops permanently to the UN.

[Butrus-Ghali] Yes. We have received a positive response from many countries, from France and from the Scandinavian countries. We are proceeding and working very hard on it. But then you have the financial element. If you want to send 50,000 troops to somewhere in Asia or Africa it will cost you a few billion dollars. Who will pay? We have a financial crisis in the United Nations.

[Mather] Is the crisis anywhere near an end?

[Butrus-Ghali] No.

[Mather] Have governments offered any financial help?

[Butrus-Ghali] No. As a result of economic crises and "donor fatigue" member states are less ready to contribute financially to the peacekeeping operations.

The chief problem from my point of view is one of education. The same member states that were prepared to spend $100 billion every day to sustain the Cold War are not willing to spend $100 billion or $200 billion to sustain the UN system. That is a contradiction.

[Mather] Are the UN's peacekeeping efforts actually being impeded by the financial crisis?

[Butrus-Ghali] Yes, because the member states do not pay their contributions on time. The result is that the UN is not able to pay on time the member states who contribute with contingents of troops. Some states can afford to wait one or two years before being paid. But others cannot. So they may withdraw their troops. I have received complaints from Tunisia, Uruguay, Jordan, Egypt and Bangladesh, to name only some of the countries which are not able to continue to provide troops because they are not being paid. This is a problem. If countries that belong to the developing world cannot participate in peacekeeping operations for financial reasons it will diminish the multinational dimension of UN forces.

[Mather] Are some countries guiltier than others?

[Butrus-Ghali] The United States and Russia. But out of 184 countries only ten per cent pay their contributions in January. They are supposed to pay all their contributions in the first month of the year. But they pay at the end of the year so we have to find cash for 12 months and we are not allowed to borrow from banks.

[Mather] Can you not do more within the UN organisation itself to save money?

[Butrus-Ghali] Yes, we are trying to. But the cost of peacekeeping forces has risen from $600 million to $3.6 billion. The UN used to have only a few peacekeeping operations. Today we have 23.

We have also just agreed to send 1,600 observers to the South African elections. We have been asked to participate in monitoring 46 elections. All this is new. In the

post-Cold War era the UN has a new credibility. Everybody is asking for assistance in the diplomatic field, in the field of security, in the field of the environment and of health and of technical assistance. All these different kinds of assistance cost money.

[Mather] Do you see any possibility of changing the rules of engagement so that UN troops can play a more active military role?

[Butrus-Ghali] It is not a question of changing the rules of engagement but of asking whether the member states are ready. Do they accept the need for confrontation with its military consequences? Do they accept the likely cost in human lives? There is confusion because public opinion regards the UN as an independent body. But the UN is an instrument which depends on the political will of the member states. If they have the political will to pay the military and financial price for an operation then it can be done.

[Mather] Returning to Bosnia: in addition to the financial problems, there are other difficulties. The writ of the UN is not respected by the warring parties. Supplies are not getting through, UN troops are being shot at and killed. Does all this make you feel frustrated?

[Butrus-Ghali] This has been the case in all UN peacekeeping operations. The UN operations in the Congo had the same problems. I don't want to underestimate the problems we have in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia. But we have to accept that this happens when the UN is conducting its operations.

Ukraine Returns 'Extra' Centrel Energy

AU2101173094 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Budapest, Jan 21 (AFP)—Ukraine has apparently returned 200 million kilowatt-hours of energy it drew in extra imports from the joint Centrel electric system of eastern European countries, the Hungarian national electricity distribution centre said Friday [21 January].

Over the past fortnight, the Centrel system maintained normal frequency levels after considerable fluctuation caused by unplanned Ukrainian imports since November, officials of the centre said.

The fluctuations caused slowdowns and overstrain with electric appliances, and Centrel countries—the Czech republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the eastern part of Germany—threatened Ukraine with separating it from the grid if it failed to return the energy drawn until Friday.

Ukraine was forced to import more energy than it had planned due to severe fuel shortages there. Hungary supplied a quarter of the extra energy drawn.

Greek Minister Visits, Meets With Officials

Meets Industry Minister

AU1901175294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] At the invitation of the Albanian minister of industry and trade, Greek Alternate National Economy Minister Ioannis Papandoniou arrived in Tirana today. Mr. Papandoniou heads a government economic delegation from the ministry and representatives of Greek chambers of commerce, various firms, etc.

Mr. Papandoniou, whose visit to Tirana is his first foreign trip since Greece took over the presidency of the EC, was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Selim Belortaja, Albanian minister for industry and trade. Khristodhoulos Tsalikis, ambassador of the Greek Republic in Tirana, was also present.

Official talks between Belortaja and Papandoniou started this afternoon. In his speech, Mr. Belortaja stressed the special importance of this meeting, which he said was a chance to examine problems arising from proposals to further bilateral relations in the field of the economy, and also that, in Albania's foreign trade relations, trade and cooperation with Greece occupy a special place. He said that trade with Greece accounts for 14 percent of our foreign trade. Of course, such a level of cooperation is due to the historical relations between both peoples, the reciprocity of the economies of both countries, and the political goodwill on the part of both governments to further bilateral relations.

In his speech, Minister Papandoniou said that he felt it his duty to reiterate the warm atmosphere of Greek-Albanian relations, which have their basis in the historical ties and cooperation between the two countries and which are being advanced a step further with the visit of Foreign Minister Papoulias to Tirana.

As EC president, Greece has an opportunity to help Albania to pass through this difficult transition period, the Greek minister told his Albanian counterpart, promising help even after Greece's EC presidency is over.

He also concretely specified fields of cooperation. Attaching great importance to bilateral trade, Mr. Papandoniou stressed that trade should be developed in the border areas and generally be advanced in the future.

On agriculture, he presented Greece's great interest and that of Greek firms in increasing investment in Albania in this area and stressed the encouragement and assistance that the Greek Government would provide for them. The Greek National Bank would like to open a representative office in Tirana, while the Greek Agricultural Bank has already drafted two projects.

Leaving the issue open, Mr. Papandoniou stressed that they would discuss it extensively in talks with experts. Electricity production was also of interest to the Greek side and would require broad discussion by both sides.

In his proposals, the Greek minister focused on the possibilities of cooperation to improve Albanian ports, with the idea of creating a joint commission of experts to carry out relevant studies. He also briefed them on the EC project on transportation and within this framework he offered cooperation for joint road networks.

To conclude, Minister Papandoniou expressed optimism for the course of bilateral relations, which, according to him, were conditioned by the existence of the Greek minority in Albania and Albanian citizens in Greece.

Mr. Belortaja commented on the outline that his Greek counterpart had made about prospects for bilateral relations, stressing that the Greek offer of cooperation was very diverse. He also pointed out the special values of the joint commissions in agriculture, trade, etc., and told the Greek side that it should brief the Albanian Government on concrete issues, so as to take the necessary decisions, which will open the way to broader cooperation.

The Greek Government economic delegation is continuing its working visit to Tirana.

Visits Agriculture, Food Ministry

AU2001092694 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] After the meeting of the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission, which discussed economic and technical issues related to bilateral cooperation, the Greek government delegation conducted other business talks today.

Talks began at the Agriculture and Food Industry, where Mr. Papandoniou was received by Agriculture and Food Minister Halili.

The Greek economic delegation held talks with Ministers Bitincka [transportation] and Dishnica [finance] and with Deputy Prime Minister Kopliku. During the meetings, talks focused on resolving the problems in which the possibilities and facilities are more present for both sides to contribute to programmed cooperation.

In these meetings, Mr. Papandoniou stressed once more the importance of the fact that Greece will head the EC presidency for six months. He mentioned the sum of 350 million [as heard] ECU that the EC has planned to provide for transports and infrastructure during this year. During the talks, they spoke about the possibilities of providing financial support to Albanian transportation in general.

The Greek side also presented concrete projects to Mr. Bitincka, assuring him of the Greek Government's support for companies that may invest to improve the Albanian transportation. The delegation continues its visit in Tirana.

Meets With Deputy Prime Minister

AU2001092894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Continuing his talks in Tirana today, Greek Alternate National Economy Minister Papandoniou was received by Deputy Prime Minister Bashkim Kopliku. The Kopliku-Papandoniou talks concentrated on Albania's needs for investments and, in this framework, they discussed what both parties can profit from the EC project on transports.

Mentioning the fund of 350 milliard [billion] ECU that the EC is offering for the European project on transportation, for road, air, and naval transportation, and especially for ports, something which is favored by the position of Greece as EC president, Mr. Papandoniou stressed the interests of both sides and the need to profit in time.

Albanian Deputy Prime Minister Kopliku made an outline of the present state of the development of the reform and the need that this phase presents for investments. They also discussed concrete fields of cooperation and stressed the need to strengthen economic cooperation, something which favors the strengthening of bilateral relations in general.

Visit Seen as 'Concrete Step'

AU2001093094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The meeting held this afternoon between Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and Ioannis Papandoniou, Greek alternate national economy minister, assessed Papandoniou's visit to Tirana, following that of Papoulias some time ago, as a concrete step toward implementation of economic cooperation between both countries, in the framework of an atmosphere of good cooperation that is in the interest not only of Albania and Greece but also of our turbulent region.

The existence of the Greek minority in Albania and of Albanian refugees in Greece are circumstances that favor this cooperation and ease bilateral understanding. Mr. Serreqi stressed that, viewed from a judicial aspect and considering the resources it possesses, Albania, which has made concrete steps toward a market economy, sees as a favorable circumstance the fact that Greece, as the only Balkan country near the EC and being the EC president for the current six-month period, can possibly influence Albania's concrete engagement in EC economic projects.

Papandoniou Comments on Relations

AU2001093294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] We want Albanian-Greek relations to achieve new developments because we have common interests, and so far we have not resolved them at each other's expense but by helping each other, Mr. Meksi said to Ioannis Papandoniou, Greek alternate national economy minister.

Prime Minister Meksi brought up numerous reasons for the necessity of bilateral cooperation in all fields. He asked for an expeditious start to real work either through joint commissions or contacts at various levels by government officials and experts.

Mr. Meksi stressed that Greece, as EC chairman, needs to directly engage itself in the direction of Albania, so as to include Albania in the projects of this development institution, especially in the big transportation program.

Papandoniou called the spirit of relations between both countries excellent, and stressed the good level of political relations. He brought a message of friendship to Albanian Prime Minister Meksi from Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, wishing a move from stationary climate into concrete results.

Further, he focused on EC projects to revive the European economy and expressed the desire that a segment of the program finds space in our region and that both countries profit from this big project.

Welcoming the Greek party's proposal, Mr. Meksi expressed the desire to immediately and expeditiously start their implementation.

Signs Cooperation Protocol, Departs

AU2001191094 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer] The Greek government economic delegation chaired by Alternate National Economy Minister Papandoniou has ended its business visit in Tirana. The Albanian-Greek Joint Commission signed the protocol of the fourth session of cooperation. For further details, let's listen to this report.

[Koleci] This morning Messrs. Belortaja and Papandoniou, chairmen of the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission, signed a business protocol with the goal and desire to pass on to concrete actions. During the ceremony our industry and trade minister stated:

[Begins Belortaja recording, in Albanian with passage-by-passage translation into Greek] If we could characterize briefly, concrete character is its main feature. We surpassed the protocols, put forward the platforms, and tried to open the way to concrete projects, which will strengthen and intensify the economic cooperation between both countries. [end recording]

[Koleci] Mr. Papandoniou, too, felt optimistic about Albanian-Greek cooperation.

[Begin Papandoniou recording, in Greek with one passage-by-passage translation into Albanian] The results were very positive. [end recording]

[Koleci] It is a new initiative for the relations between both countries. He assessed the signing of protocol as a station in the further road of cooperation. The Greek minister continues to say that both governments decided to cooperate in the bilateral terrain and in the EC framework.

The protocol signed by both commission chairmen speaks about the encouragement of Greek investments in Albania, the possibilities of abolishing double taxation in the trade between both countries, the elaboration of the remaining part of the Greek aid for our country, construction of the Durres-Vlore-Kakavije road, and the use of hydropower on the Vjose River.

The experts of both countries will meet in Greece on February to discuss cooperation in the field of agriculture and livestock. Thus, the protocol envisages the main commitments of the signing parties to strengthen the Albanian-Greek relations.

The Greek government economic delegation left our country this morning.

Democratic Party on 'Partnership,' 1994 Issues

AU2101181594 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Democratic Party Chairman Eduard Selami held a news conference today. Let's hear a report by our correspondent Zamira Koleci.

[Koleci] At the news conference held this morning Democratic Party [PD] leader Selami stressed the party goals for 1994, a year that he considered to be very important in accomplishing the PD's program. He greeted the political event that opened this year—the Partnership for Peace initiative—as an active step toward Albania's admission to NATO.

Selami viewed the policy of rapid privatization and the proprietorship of as many people as possible as an important social step that will be accompanied by the introduction of securities, as defined in the PD's electoral program. He went on to say that they will be paying attention to increasing foreign and domestic investment and providing the political conditions to attract it.

He considered 1994 an important year for Albanian farmers, too. The support of 3,000 tractors given to farmers will continue, ensuring financial support through the banks.

In his statement, Selami also spoke about the political situation, stressing that leftist extremists have introduced a nihilistic, destructive, and unstable platform, and he explained this in terms of the hopeless attempts of those who have lost power.

In answer to a question, Selami said that tensions have been artificially increased and they are related to initiating the trial of Alia and Nano, who seem to have put into motion many of their old and dubious ties.

Selami said that the PD favors dialogue and this requires a serious commitment. Meanwhile, the Democratic Alliance [AD] is accusing the PD of organizing crime at all levels. Selami said that they had declared that they are the opposition but brothers, while the AD leaders are for freedom or death.

PD Secretary General Tritan Shehu repeated yesterday's request to parliament that its Foreign Committee examine the AD visit to Belgrade, which, according to Shehu, is against the national interest. [passage omitted]

Paper Views Tensions in 'Isolated' Shkoder

AU2401095494 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Where Is Shkoder Going"]

[Text] Another blood score has been recorded in Shkoder, as if the 150 people who are besieged in their homes, sheltered from feuds started in their fathers' times, and possibly even their unremembered grandfathers', were not enough. These 150 families owe blood under the Canon of Lek Dukagjin. They expect nothing from the laws of this state. The state does not protect them. This state throws them on welfare and leaves them under siege, including their children and associates. This state is paralyzed, humbled by the Canon of Lek Dukagjin. Meanwhile, the family of Gjovalin Cekini has a blood score to settle with the government. They expect the judiciary to respond to the crime before they heed the call to arms of their ancestors, the weapons of the Canon of Lek Dukagjin. The government, after all, has the chance to triumph over Lek showing that it is no longer the government of 2 April [1991] that murdered by night and shed tears by day. It has an opportunity to avert one more murder. It has the opportnity to remove the checkpoint on Bahcellek bridge, over which criminals enter and leave Shkoder. It has the opportunity to rescue Shkoder from isolation from the rest of Albania, as if we were in the time of the principality of Kara Mahmut Bushatlliu. Shkoder is becoming isolated. Caught up in the spider's web of the embargo, the city is writhing in agony and devouring its own citizens. It was corruption and the representatives of corruption in Shkoder, tension, and the absence of a political breathing space that murdered Gjovaiin Cekini. It was the logic of Kara Mdhmut Buchatlliu in the mouths of oil smugglers and the smugglers of infants, that called Shkoder the citadel of the Democrats. Once it was the citadel of the Communists, and before that it was a principality, before Albania existed, although it was Albanian before the principality existed. The language of the party faithful is sending Shkoder back in time, toward experiences of this kind, inexorably shifting the barrier of the embargo from Han i Hotit to Bahcellek bridge [from the Albanian-Montenegrin border to the southern entrance to the City of Shkoder], separating the city from Albania. This kind of talk calls for aid from the phantom of Lek Dukagjio. Quo vadis Scutari? Shkoder, where are you going?

Ministry Denies Report on Disarming Officers

AU2201142694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Statement issued by a Defense Ministry spokesman in Tirana on 21 January; read by announcer—recorded]

[Text] The newspaper KOHA JONE published an article today with the bombastic headline "Massive Disarmament of the Albanian Army," written by Martin Leka. This newspaper has published such articles before with the aim of slandering and dismantling the Army. Today's malicious article is false and does not represent the reality in the present process of strengthening and modernizing the Army.

We can neither speak nor think about the disarmament of officers. The integration of our Army into the democratic society we are building requires that officers, while in the garrison, be properly equipped. When they leave the barracks or training facilities to go into the city, they are citizens.

We are presently working to administer, preserve, nurture, and maintain armament and military equipment according to international standards. This is also an experience of all NATO countries that apply the same practice. The suppositions and insinuations for a drastic shortage and incidents on the part of officers are as provocative as they are malicious.

With these lies and slanders, irresponsible correspondents want to create panic, a shadow of doubt, dissatisfaction, and division in the Army and among the people. However, Belgrade's lackeys and their notorious newspaper KOHA JONE, enraged by the achievements of our Army, especially the very successful meeting with a U.S. Defense Department delegation, and, as it seems, financed by Belgrade, are doing everything in their power to reduce the value of the Albanian Army, which is certainly progressing toward its uninterrupted strengthening.

The attacks by Enverists, Belgrade's lackeys, and other antinational elements against the Army and national defense will fail. The order in question is based on Law No. 74-96, dated 3 July 1991, Article 4 of the Law on Arms, and Decree No. 74-49, dated 5 January 1991, as well as the order by the general commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic No. 01, dated 13 May 1992, on the improvement of the performance of service in inhabited centers.

Based on current law, the defense minister has the right to issue orders and instructions on the maintenance, administration, and preservation of armament and other military equipment. These acts constitute a military secret. The revelation, publication, and propagation of these acts are convicted by law. For this reason, the defense minister has initiated legal proceedings, says the Defense Ministry spokesman.

Zhelev Addresses Nation on Increasing Crime

AU2301161694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Address to the nation by President Zhelyu Zhelev; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria:

Over the last two years, I have had to address you three times on the subject of crime. The last address was in parliament at the beginning of June 1993. At that time, I insistently requested the National Assembly to give priority to adopting the fundamental laws on the court, the police, and state employees, as well as the necessary amendments to the Penal and Penal Procedural Codes. All of this had to be done in order to stop organized crime, which threatens us more and more every day.

Unfortunately, certain deputies at the time viewed my address as a populist move, aimed to enhance my popularity, rather than an attempt on my part to seek a constructive solution to the problems.

Now—seven months later and after a series of dramatic events that showed the existence of organized crime in a dangerous scope and the elements of the Mafia, or at least the existence of preconditions of a Mafia emergence—the same people pretend to be surprised and try to pass the responsibility off to the executive power, mostly to the police.

I am far from exonerating the police and the executive power, because they bear a large part of the responsibility. However, I am puzzled by the fact that, while a danger exists for the legal order in our country, responsible institutions, political forces, and individual politicians continue to seek political dividends in the tragedy that occurred. Instead of realizing their own responsibility for the country's situation, they pass the guilt on to each other—the parliament to the police and the government, the police to the court and the Prosecutor's Office, the court and the Prosecutor's Office to the court and the investigative bodies, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to the Union of the Democratic Forces [SDS], the SDS to the BSP, and so forth. This game is extremely dangerous, perhaps even lethal, for the state. I would like to remind you that crime does not distinguish between party colors and political convictions. It is directed against each one of us. Therefore, the political forces and the state institutions must not mutually seek each other's shortcomings but should unite their efforts against organized crime and corruption, with each one doing their share of the work.

The cabinet, being the executive power, must show whether it really can govern and whether it has the courage and will to implement its functions and guarantee order and calm in the country, as well as preserve the citizens' lives, property, honor, and dignity. The parliament, which for two years now has violated the constitutional requirements of anything related to the judicial system structure, must finally adopt with priority the necessary amendments to the Penal and Penal Procedural Codes, the bill on the judiciary's structure, and the bill on the state employee. Without adopting the bill on the judicial system and really and fully completing the structure of this system with a supreme administrative court, a supreme court of appeals, and local courts of appeals, Bulgaria will not have an independent and efficient judiciary that could battle against organized crime and the budding Mafia.

We expect the police, investigative authorities, the Prosecutor's Office, and the courts to immediately adopt energetic and bold steps aimed at imprisoning the criminals. I insist that all cases of overt banditry be investigated rapidly and without any pity.

The corrupt and inefficient employees of the Ministry of Interior, especially the leadership, must go in order to preserve the honor of the Bulgarian policemen who work under exceptionally grave conditions. There are too many responsible state officials and politicians who send nameless denunciations and speak anonymously about corruption and crime in the realm of the executive. Taking its cue from those denunciations, the press constantly write about corruption in the high echelons of the power. By doing so, certain newspapers are trying to suggest that all those who work there are corrupt. It is high time to speak clearly, precisely, and openly on this matter and point out specific names, facts, and documents. It is high time for the political forces to adopt their share of the responsibility, rather than wash their hands with political declarations and statements against crime. They must adopt the necessary laws in the parliament, as well as identify any corrupt politicians in their own ranks. This must be done, because there is nothing more pathetic than political forces that claim they are struggling against crime and yet they simultaneously tolerate people in their ranks who own a large-size financial property of an unclear origin.

It is not the Bulgarian citizens who should fear the criminals who walk free, but rather the criminals should fear the law and understand that wherever they hide, the judiciary will find them and punish them.

As far as I am concerned, I will not leave a single state institution or service in peace that could assist in the struggle against crime until it begins to service appropriately.

'Fired' Sanctions Chief on Embargo Efficiency

AU2401113494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 21 Jan 94 p 2

[Interview with Marin Todorov, former secretary of the Sanctions Commission, by Lyubomira Nikolaeva; place and date not given: "Additional Strict Measures Could Guarantee Embargo Observance"]

[Text] [Nikolaeva] Mr. Todorov, does your dismissal mean that Bulgaria is circumventing the Yugoembargo?

[Todorov] By no means. In the eyes of the international public, this will confirm that the Bulgarian Government is adopting additional measures on preventing any attempts to violate the sanctions. Changing the commission's chairman will not hurt Bulgaria's international status.

[Nikolaeva] You claim that you resigned at your own initiative. Why did you resign?

[Todorov] An opinion was voiced that... perhaps the control applied by the commission was not very efficient in the sense that if someone implements steps aimed at violating the embargo, this means that he thinks that the trade economic sanctions could be violated. In this context, I thought it would be better if another person replaced me. Perhaps he would adopt stricter measures....

[Nikolaeva] In the past, you were chief of the prime minister's office. Was your appointment as an adviser on foreign economic issues and secretary of the Sanctions Commission the result of a blunder on your part or an award?

[Todorov] As chief of the prime minister's office, I had to deal with a broad range of issues, and I felt incompetent to deal with some of those issues. Therefore, I asked to be transferred to a job that I was more qualified for. I received my new appointment in May, and I think that it was a useful transfer.

[Nikolaeva] However, there are rumors that as secretary of the commission, you favored certain companies and persons—for example, [former Deputy Prime Minister] Neycho Neev....

[Todorov] My conscience is clear and I am completely calm. If ever I wanted to favor someone, I could not do so because there was no mechanism that could facilitate it. The efficiency of the control measures is another issue. It was discovered that new additional measures must be adopted if our country is to really implement its commitments to the United Nations and the international community.

[Nikolaeva] Do you mean special services that will control the customs officials?

[Todorov] I do not know; I was not consulted.

[Nikolaeva] Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev said that your dismissal was decided after [Interior Minister] Viktor Mikhaylov's report on attempts to violate the embargo....

[Todorov] I tried to be useful, especially in the area of measures aimed at eliminating the losses and compensating for damages. I am an economist and my area of specialization is economic relations in the Balkans. As far as control is concerned.... the real control is being implemented by border guards and customs officials.

[Nikolaeva] What commission members are responsible for the control?

[Todorov] The working group on implementing the sanctions is in charge of the control.

[Nikolaeva] Who is the chief of this group?

[Todorov] Mr. Kulishev, deputy minister of finance and chief of the "Customs" State Administration.

[Nikolaeva] However, you are the one who was fired. Do you have any job offers—for example, as a consultant for private companies?

[Todorov] Well.... for the time being, at least, I have no offers.

General Staff Official Notes Decreasing Budget

AU2101113794 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Colonel Ivan Ivanov, "head of the General Staff 'Material and Financial Resources Planning' Department," by Major Spiridon Spiridonov; place and date not given: "Army Needs Much More Than 12.7 Billion Leva"]

[Excerpts] [Spiridonov] Is it true that the military budget has been constantly decreasing in recent years?

[Ivanov] During the 1989-1994 period there is a continuing tendency to reduce the country's military budget. If in 1989 it was 8.1 percent of the national budget in 1990 it decreased to 6.7 percent. In 1991 and 1992 it was 7 percent, while in 1993 it dropped to 5.7 percent. What is envisaged for 1994 is within the framework of 6.5 percent of the national budget, an amount that is smaller than the 1990 budget. We regress to a lower level. This is as far as absolute terms are is concerned. The amount is actually much less when you consider the inflation since 1990.

[Spiridonov] Is this tendency characteristic only of our country or also of our neighbors?

[Ivanov] As far as I know there is no such tendency among our neighbors.

[Spiridonov] The military themselves felt the insecurity and irregularity of receiving funds from the Ministry of Defense.

[Ivanov] For almost six months (until June, when the 1993 budget was adopted), the army functioned with one twelfth of its 1992 budget. Throughout that entire period the prices and inflation were completely different and the overall economic situation was much more complex. As a result, at the end of the first half of 1993 the army lagged behind in payments for supplies, services, and repairs, both locally and internationally, by more than $600 million. This fact had an exceptionally negative effect on the suppliers of the various branches of the army and resulted in refusal to supply the army with

various materials. I mean food, clothing, water, electric power, and telephone services. The delay in the payments prompted the suppliers in question to refuse the army's supply orders. This process continued until the end of the year and produced our unpaid debt of 480 million leva.

[Spiridonov] The issue of the army wages is probably in the same category?

[Ivanov] All the established terms of paying army personnel were violated. Pay for army officers, noncommissioned officers, military employees, and soldiers was delayed by 5-10 days. Another paradox emerged: In July 1993 the pay of the officers and non- commissioned officers was delayed by two weeks. Naturally, this created great tension in the army units. You know that in the remote garrisons, and not only there, the young military families are in a very grave situation. Spouses are unemployed and the families rely on a single salary. [passage omitted]

[Spiridonov] What resources does the army need in 1994?

[Ivanov] After most responsibly reviewing the real situation in the army and in accordance with the instructions of the Finance Ministry on preparing the 1994 budget we prepared the budget of the Ministry of Defense. All state institutions are familiar with it. It is the most economic variant, which has been coordinated with the army's real minimal needs.

[Spiridonov] Are you satisfied with the defense means envisaged by the Finance Ministry's draft budget?

[Ivanov] The total military budget proposed by the Finance Ministry amounts to 12.7 billion leva. It hardly covers a part of the army's real needs. Priority again was given to the everyday maintenance of the army, and not to the army's technical supply, for which only 5 percent of the budget has been envisaged. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec Views Clinton Visit, Visegrad

AU2101184294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jan 94 p 21

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Jan Zizka; place and date not given: "In Our Space, It Is Impossible To Become Another Switzerland"]

[Text] The results of the meeting between U.S. President Clinton and the Visegrad Four countries are the main subject of our interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec.

[Zizka] The Partnership for Peace plan is being reproached for not providing real guarantees to the Central European countries. In a meeting with the U.S. President, the Czech Republic did not join the criticizing voices that were raised by Poland, for instance. Why?

[Zieleniec] The Czech Republic, as well as other countries in this region, is not under an immediate threat. Of course, there is a possibility of negative developments in East Europe, particularly in Russia. Of course, we would be happy if we were admitted into NATO right now or if the Partnership for Peace plan provided a clear deadline for our admission. Nevertheless, we have accepted the plan with pleasure. The entire plan was drafted gradually. It looked quite different when we learned about it for the first time. It seemed that it was only a proposal for joint exercises and intensifying professional contacts between the Armies. The intensive dialogue that we held with the NATO countries, particularly with the United States, had an impact on the final shape of the Partnership for Peace plan. The partnership is built on the civilization's common values and on a responsibility toward these values. We feel that we view the life and the importance of the freedom of individuals in the same way as the West Europeans do, and we are happy that the Alliance understands this attitude of ours. I am convinced that a quick opening of the Alliance eastward without setting clear criteria would not be in our best interests. I believe that we should be able to understand the feelings of members of the Alliance because we ourselves will certainly become a member within several years. If we want this organization to be efficient and able to secure its goals—that is, the protection of our life-style—this organization cannot admit a country that is not stable politically or whose appreciation of the said values is not so patent.

[Zizka] In the past, the Alliance admitted countries such as Greece and Turkey, which did not meet the criteria for admission at that time.

[Zieleniec] In the past, the Alliance was an anticommunist pact. The problem of common values was not so important. The main task was to stop communism. Now, the Alliance wants to assume a new face. It seeks to find a new raison d'etre for its existence. Admitting a country that does not fully accept the said values and that is not prepared to defend them without hesitation could create an opportunity for establishing a fifth column within the Alliance, which would then become more vulnerable in view of outside pressures.

[Zizka] Are you then rejecting the opinion that injustice has been done to us? Some people in the Czech Republic believe that this a new Munich or Yalta.

[Zieleniec] The politicians who used these words before the summit have stopped using them. The fact that they agree with us also demonstrates the stability and unequivocality of Czech foreign policy. Since the elections in 1992, our efforts to become a NATO member and assume responsibility for the Western values have become the key pillar of our policy. Many people in neighboring countries who vehemently speak about joining NATO did not even think about joining it several months ago.

[Zizka] Did you ever see any danger in the fact that admitting the Central European countries into NATO could, sooner or later, lead to a new division of Europe and that Russia and other countries could find themselves on the other side?

[Zieleniec] Europe's security system has always been based on a certain structure and division. Two blocs do not have to stand against one another and pose a threat to one another. On the other hand, I repeat, the Alliance is a defense alliance that secures freedom and democracy. Let us be sincere. All countries do not have the same life-style, and not everywhere is the state based on the same values. Democracy is not in all countries.

[Zizka] Should we take into account the fact that NATO's eastward expansion could strengthen the position of Russian nationalists?

[Zieleniec] I believe that the West's reaction in the form of the Partnership for Peace plan is quite adequate. It allows a flexible reaction to possible developments in Europe—in Russia, in particular—and gives us the opportunity to either become a member of democratic European countries that accept the values on which Western civilization has been built or to go in the opposite direction.

[Zizka] This is the viewpoint of the West. What is the viewpoint of the Central European countries? Should we also try to prevent Russian nationalists from gaining more power?

[Zieleniec] This is not only our problem or the West's. Russia is a nuclear power. It is a pan-European and even a worldwide problem. However, we should not forget that the Czech Republic's membership in the Western key structures is not a question of our immediate profit in the economic or security spheres. To us, it is a question of demonstrating our historical identity and our place within the civilization. All of our history is the history of a Western civilization. The fact that 45 years ago the Iron Curtain was established on our borders and we were separated from the countries that belong to our

family as regards civilization, culture, and history does not mean that we should forget the thousand years of our history.

[Zizka] Is our NATO membership a necessary condition? Switzerland is not a member of the Alliance; nevertheless, no one doubts that Switzerland belongs to Western civilization.

[Zieleniec] I could cite more examples—Sweden, for instance. Switzerland is in a different place than the Czech Republic. It is impossible to become another Switzerland. We must take a firm position in this space; otherwise, we could end up somewhere we do not belong or want to belong to. The geographic position—or, better, the geopolitical situation—plays a key role here. Our situation adds shape to our history. Switzerland is Switzerland because of where it is.

[Zizka] Were you not afraid that Clinton's visit could be adversely affected by reports that the Federal Security and Information Service and some politicians had tried to support former President Bush in the election campaign?

[Zieleniec] No. I believe that the United States is a serious partner who would not want to put unverified reports on the agenda of such an important meeting. We have to wait for the results. I know that the appropriate authorities are conducting an investigation. I must say that I would be very sorry if the reports proved to be true.

[Zizka] The Czech Republic was against coordinating the Visegrad countries' stance before the meeting. Does that mean that Prague wants to spread propaganda about its exclusiveness?

[Zieleniec] No. We did not want to coordinate our course of action. Finally, however, everyone took the same stance. The whole Partnership for Peace plan is conceived as bilateral relations between NATO and other countries. I do not believe that it would be proper to cooperate in our region in any way other than by holding consultations. A more binding cooperation would be a direct road toward establishing alternative security structures. This contradicts our objectives—that is, our early admission to NATO. I believe that this is also clear to our partners. There is another problem: Our views are very different. We have not adopted the all-or-nothing strategy with respect to NATO. It is not because we are too cautious or that we would be satisfied with the little we could get, but there are reasons that I have already explained. I am afraid that, because of this, it was not possible to formulate our common stance.

[Zizka] If, in the future, there are similar differences in our views and we are not able to coordinate our joint course of action when holding talks with Western institutions, the Visegrad Four's role of conducting political dialogue will dwindle. A solitary Czech voice will become hardly audible then, will it not?

[Zieleniec] I do not believe so. The Partnership for Peace plan testifies to the fact that they have listened to us. It is important to create a good atmosphere in regional cooperation. We should cooperate in the economy, as well as in the spheres that are closely related to the problem of the regions—environment, infrastructure, transportation network, and energy supply. Of course, it is also important to be able to solve political problems in our region. When we have this, plus bilateral relations, the feeling of togetherness should prevail in the region. Yet, I would like to stress again that I do not understand the all-or-nothing attitude, which we heard about in connection with the Visegrad cooperation. Those who have adopted this attitude are damaging a vast sphere in which cooperation is possible and in which something has already been done. Everyone knows about a situation in his own life where more people had to jointly fight to push for a certain thing. In such a situation, a man who wants to force his all-or-nothing attitude upon others becomes a destructive element. One of the basic features of Western civilization is its ability to fruitfully cooperate and do constructive work. I spoke about it with my partners, and I believe that, when they were leaving Prague, they changed their opinion, which is also due to the influence of our U.S. friends. I hope that the summit, despite what we heard during its preparation, will become a very positive influence that will help intensify and accelerate cooperation within the Visegrad group.

[Zizka] You stressed the fact that the economic sphere and specific projects are the most important things in regional cooperation. It also depends on the political contacts, whether trust or mistrust will be established between countries. Certain actions of Czech diplomacy—be it the absence of the defense minister at the consultative meeting or your statement at the time of the preparation of the summit, when you said that the summit would have mostly a bilateral character—met with a negative reaction.

[Zieleniec] I only described how much time will be devoted to what. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the summit was as I said: The first day was devoted to Czech-U.S. bilateral relations, and the second also had mostly a bilateral character inasmuch as the United States conducted talks with individual countries of the Visegrad Four. The dinner in honor of President Clinton was the first multilateral action. The increased nervousness, particularly in Poland, caused other people to think that we wanted to usurp the entire meeting. This was not the case. We were not influenced by the nervousness that prevailed during the preparation of the meeting, and we continued to push for our objectives. The Visegrad partners finally left Prague satisfied. Their words testify to it. Slovak Prime Minister Meciar rejected opinions that the Czech Republic is a partner that does not want to cooperate. President Walesa also eased up on his critical statements.

[Zizka] You mentioned Meciar's statements. His words are a significant reversal because, shortly before that, Ivan Mjartan, Slovak ambassador to Prague, said that

the Czech Republic's attitude could destabilize the region. Does that mean that a new Czech-Slovak partnership is in the offing?

[Zieleniec] Our bilateral relations with Slovakia are a very important matter. I believe that the reason for this shift, not only in Slovakia's opinion but also in Poland and Hungary's, has been caused by our diplomacy's decent and calm attitude toward the preparation of the summit. We explained to our partners now and again what the essence of our policy was. We explained our efforts to search for a more intensive cooperation without having to compromise on our stance. I believe that U.S. diplomacy also helped us achieve that goal. During a meeting with foreign ministers, Secretary of State Warren Christopher stressed several times that bilateral relations were important for establishing the security system in our region.

[Zizka] How do you view the Hungarian proposal to jointly sign a treaty applicable to the Partnership for Peace plan?

[Zieleniec] Again, this is a search for symbols and a matter of stressing something that is not important at all.

[Zizka] Some people are saying that the organization of Clinton's visit was in the hands of the Americans. Czech correspondents did not have easy access to individual events. The security measures taken by the Americans blocked traffic in Prague. The Czechs should have been given more clout in that matter, should they not have?

[Zieleniec] President Clinton is a man who has enormous power due to the Constitution of the United States and the role the United States plays in the world. This power often represents the existential issue for the entire humankind. Because of Kennedy's assassination in 1963, no wonder the United States has become very concerned with the security of its presidents. The visible part of the security measures was only a tiny part of the entire job the United States had to do on our territory. It is true that it complicated the life of many Prague citizens. I would like to thank them for having coped with the situation. On the other hand, I would also like to say that our laws and sovereignty have not been violated at all. Our correspondent had a difficult time getting to various events. This is the negative side of the fact that there were hundreds of foreign correspondents who referred to this event and transmitted the picture of Prague and its representatives to the world. Two billion people all over the world watched the visit. This is no small effect of the visit. It paid off to put up with discomfort, if not for other reasons, then for this effect.

Schedule for Partnership for Peace Plan Noted

LD2401111794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0600 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] The Partnership for Peace plan is not an offer of alliance. What it offers to European states is cooperation in the military and political spheres. This is what Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said on television. Asked about the schedule for the Czech Republic joining NATO, the minister replied:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] It much depends on the general development of the security situation in the world. I think that a tacit part of the agreement is that the plan will acquire greater dynamism in the event that the situation on the continent and also in East Europe deteriorates. On the other hand, if developments proceed along the lines of peace and calm and if they are heading toward democracy in all East and Central European states, there could be some delay. But, in that case, there would be no risk to our security. [end recording].

Josef Zieleniec went on to emphasize that the meaning of NATO is the provision of joint guarantees for a larger entity sharing similar interests, values, and way of life.

The immediate opening of NATO toward the deep east and embracing states where democracy—and I quote—is not fully convincing, would be very risky, Minister Zieleniec said.

Government Action on Skoda Urged

AU2001145894 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 19 Jan 94 p 1

[Commentary by Robert Casensky: "I am Selling a Tank; Reply Box No. 'Cheaply'"]

[Text] At the beginning of this week, reports started to circulate again about Czech arms exports to the world's high-risk regions. An article published in the most recent issue of the weekly RESPEKT, which describes the talks between Skoda Plzen Director General Lubomir Soudek and Iranian military representatives on modernizing the Soviet T-72 tank and supplying other weapons, provided the impetus for this discussion. Skoda Plzen is part of the RDP Group, a Czech arms consortium.

The actual aim of the RDP Group, as put forward by its director general, Jan Vlcek, is very positive: to contribute by efficient organization to improving the ability to compete of our foremost heavy-industrial enterprises, which are affiliated in the RDP Group, and to make money to convert arms production. According to Vlcek, the production of weapons in the enterprises affiliated in the RDP Group should amount to only 20 percent of their production program.

The hitch, however, lies elsewhere. It is not that Czech arms production should be abolished, as President Havel suggested after his election. It is impossible, of course, to abolish arms production immediately. The other side of the coin, however, is the offer to modernize tanks right on the spot in countries against which a UN arms embargo has been imposed. Even Director Soudek himself is not denying the talks on modernizing tanks and other arms supplies.

Most startling, however, is the fact that these talks are taking place with the knowledge of our government.

According to Vlcek, the appropriate deputy ministers regularly attend meetings of the RDP Group's board. It would perhaps be worth pointing out that the export of Czech and Slovak arms to high-risk countries has on more than one occasion been the cause of consternation in Western countries. If Iranian tanks ever really are modernized, this could be another major international faux pas by our country. Exporting arms or, rather, their spare parts to a country such as Iran is not much in keeping with our endeavor to attain the position of an exemplary candidate for entry into NATO.

Let us hope that our government does not think that the process for converting the arms industry would be set in motion with the debut of the first modernized tank on Iran's borders. We can expect, therefore, that the government and, first and foremost, Minister Dlouhy, who is responsible for arms exports, will adopt as soon as possible a decisive stance on Director Soudek's Iranian activities and will, at the same time, consider not only the economic aspect but also our reputation in the civilized world.

Prime Minister Inaugurates New Culture Minister

LD2001154394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus today inaugurated the new minister of culture, Pavel Tigrid. At the same time, he thanked the former minister, Jindrich Kabat, for his work and voiced the conviction that the personality of Pavel Tigrid will be high-quality reinforcement for the department of culture.

Ministry Denies Decision on T-72 Modernization

AU2101085494 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 10 Jan 94 p 6

[Pavel Novotny report: "Our Arms Industry Is Focusing on Exports"]

[Text] As Defense Ministry press spokesman Zdenek Borkovec told us, the modernization of the T-72 tank is included in the long-term plans of the Army of the Czech Republic. It is assessing several offers, the one from the RDP Group among them. Nevertheless, no agreement has been signed between the Defense Ministry and the arms manufacturing consortium.

Moreover, Zdenek Borkovec says: "The Defense Ministry is considering several alternatives of the modernization of the T-72 tank. Because of the high financial requirements of the project, the key problems of the solution are being examined first. The RDP Group concept does not completely correspond to the specified tactical technical demands of the army. The aforementioned RDP concept is more export oriented."

Currently, 542 tanks of the T-72 series serve the Army of the Czech Republic. According to Zdenek Borkovec, neither the number of tanks to be modernized, nor the time schedule for their modernization have been decided. The optimum alternatives—with respect to the future orientation of the transforming Czech Army and, above all, the limited financial resources—are to be selected by the end of the year 1994.

Regarding the new technical concept of the army, the principal document apparently is the "Concept of the Building of the Army of the Czech Republic to 1996," which was discussed by the government last June. It was decided that in the realization of the intended goals, the same system of planning, programming and budgeting (SPPR) will be used, as is commonly used and accepted in the armies of the North Atlantic Alliance. This system, which, according to Zdenek Borkovec, makes the processes taking place in the army transparent, and facilitates easier monitoring of the army by the parliament, will be applied as early as this year.

The financing of the armed forces is covered by the Defense Ministry chapter of the state budget, which assumes total expenditures of 26.792 billion korunas and total revenues of 2.3 billion korunas. Of the total expenditures, 8.88 billion korunas is intended for technical material, of which, 278 million is earmarked for the purchase of new arms, technology, and other material as per the "Concept."

The new tank, which should be manufactured in coordination with the RDP Group consortium, will allegedly meet the requirements of the NATO organization concerning of its member states' arms. According to the director general of the consortium, Jan Vlcek, a number of the elements—the communication system, for instance—are compatible with the Alliance systems. According to Zdenek Borkovec, however, "the notion of compatibility with NATO armies cannot be identified with compatibility of arms. It is a logical sequence of certain activities in which the compatibility of the equipment has its place but it is not a primary one. First, the linguistic, planning, communication, and other problems must be overcome. Therefore, it is expected that approximately during the period until 1996, only a part of the armed forces will be equipped, above all, with the modern means of communication, command, and reconnaissance."

Jan Vlcek claims in the RDP Group statement that one of the alternatives of the modernization of the existing tank is prepared for the Czech Army as the most important customer. The army, according to the aforementioned information, adopted a substantially more cautious stand. Exports will apparently be necessary for RDP.

Commentary on Czech Role in European Security

AU2301190594 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 19 Jan 94 p 3

[Commentary by Josef Forbelsky: "In the Interest of Europe's Security"]

[Text] It was apparent from the U.S. President's "soothing" visit to Prague and from his momentous visit to the Kremlin that the United States and Russia will in the future "cooperate in the interest of Europe's security." In practice, this means that stability on the continent—and, more broadly speaking, its fate—will be the upshot of cooperation between two powers ensconced outside Europe itself. It was confirmed that our continent has ceased to be the arena of a possible clash between them, but that—as far as their interests are concerned—it remains divided between them in accordance with the outcome of World War II. Compared with past decades, the only difference now is that the two super-victors are moving away from confrontation, with its risk of mutual destruction, toward cooperation. Central Europe should now also infiltrate into this concept for cooperation made possible by the collapse of the Soviet regime.

Of course, as is becoming ever more obvious, the interests of the Central European countries—until recently, part of the so-called Soviet bloc—are not completely safeguarded by this global plan for U.S.-Russian cooperation. This disharmony is due to the fact that their post-war "discomfort" was caused not only by Soviet-U.S. nuclear rivalry, which is now being eradicated but also by these Central European countries being forced to subordinate themselves to unorganized development as a result of Europe's partition after 1945, development that ran counter to their historical, cultural, and economic existence. This pitched them into backwardness from which they now want to extricate themselves by a return to the community that corresponds to their interests. The possibility of such a return is also a crucial condition for their favorable future, for their newly open historical perspective. An inconsistency between the most intrinsic interests of former Soviet Central Europe and the Partnership for Peace plan, which—a little in the style of consultations with Central American republics—President Clinton came to Prague to explain, is foreshadowed here. Partnership for Peace gives the Central European countries the theoretical possibility of being selectively admitted into NATO, an organization guaranteeing their security, only this same possibility is also being offered—without limits—to the whole of the Euro-Asian region, right up to Vladivostok. This is the intention of Partnership, because it eradicates the mutual Russian-U.S. challenge and creates a basis for strategic cooperation.

However, as far as the Central European countries are concerned, it is obvious that such a broadly proposed plan may problematize, if not stymie, their development prospects, because it preserves the former Soviet empire in a region stretching from Prague to Vladivostok. These countries' life-saving trek toward their original European ties, so different from their Euro-Asian ones, makes them uncertain. This is also at the heart of their anxiety about "the fate of the small in the game of the large," which President Lech Walesa—a politician of refined instinct—expressed so emphatically prior to the Prague meeting. Czech policy's solo journey—in this context—seems more like shortsightedness than foresight. If it reckons that the Czech Republic will escape from the cage of global power interests thanks to its declared advantages, then this is reminiscent of the tragic ingenuity of Edvard Benes. Many things imply that the new era of cooperation between America and Russia is not evolving merely to allow these two powers to rid themselves of the phantom of mutual destruction, but also because the two—not Europe—have analogous, if not identical, interests in relation to the rest of the world, first and foremost, Asia, against which they will have to measure themselves more and more explicitly.

In view of all these circumstances, Central Europe's strategic interest is defined differently. It cannot have only a U.S. or a Euro-Asian dimension—except in a tactical context—but just, and only just, a pan-European dimension. Only the reassurance of being in its original European environment and a thorough reintegration into it can offer the Central European countries—including the Czech Republic—a suitable development perspective. Of course, this presumes that their inhabitants will be clear about this aim, that they will take it into consideration, and that they will not overshadow it with obsolete historical reminiscences.

Central Europe, and the Czech Republic in it, cannot now, or in the future, function like an uncertain weld in U.S.-Russian special-interest cooperation but must concentrate on returning to the locus of its historical definition: to the center of the European continent. Only in this regenerated unit will it feel safe and only here will it be able—within the framework of the European defense, economic, and cultural institutions—to fulfill its own destiny.

Commentary Views National Security Alternatives

AU2301190494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 Jan 94 p 3

[Commentary by Petr Placak: "The Security of the Czech State"]

[Text] It was only a question of when the artificial and unnatural division of Europe after World War II—a division forcefully maintained by the Soviet empire in Europe's eastern half—would collapse. This collapse was necessary for the normalization of the situation in our part of Europe and the search for ways to stabilize it. Our centuries-long experience with the existence of the Czech state should help us in our efforts.

Western Powers—Illusion Number One

Since the disintegration of the Habsburg-ruled system of states and the upsetting of the power balance in Central Europe, we have been looking to ensure our security outside the Central European space. It is a pure anachronism when people say that the only possible way is to return to the pre-war First Republic's foreign policy concept and get closer to the Western powers—France, above all. This security system of the First Republic not

only failed—as any child knows—but also contributed to Germany's being pushed out of Europe. The tragical development after World War I has shown us quite convincingly. Today's Germany is a state with great culture and enormous economic potential; it is a country (unlike us!) with 50 years of uninterrupted democratic tradition that was able to successfully cope with its Nazi past. Since time immemorial, Germany has been our most natural economic, cultural, and political competitor (in the positive sense of the word). In view of our efforts to integrate ourselves into West European security structures—of which Germany is an inseparable member—any effort to circumvent this reality by jumping over Germany far to the West is not only a naive but absurd idea, reminiscent of the time before World War II.

NATO—Illusion Number Two

It was unrealistic in the time of the First Republic to rely on Western powers in the matter of Czechoslovakia's security, and it would be equally dubious to rely on our early joining of NATO. There are thousands of things that could slow this process down, if not stop it entirely: economic problems in countries waiting for membership—or in the member countries themselves—or unpredictable developments in Russia, which is, of course, the most essential thing. Our efforts to join NATO should, therefore, be understood as our attempt at keeping what we have already achieved (in actual fact, this is not likely to change in the future). In our country, we have succumbed, in good faith, to the illusion that the Czech Republic has an exceptional status among other post- communist countries and that we will be the first to be admitted to NATO. However, when judging the overall situation in the European security, the Alliance may put the Czech Republic's membership in NATO in last place on their task list.

Central Europe—Reality Number One

Our first efforts in foreign policy should be aimed, in my opinion, at establishing an as-wide-as-possible cooperation with our direct neighbors and at our collective building a politically stable Central Europe as the basis for the security of the Czech state. Cooperation with the Visegrad Four countries (plus Austria or Slovenia) does not have to be institutionalized, but common interests should be chiefly based on wide economic cooperation between these countries, which is what the Czech Republic is basically trying to establish within the framework of the Central European free trade zone, which should also include some military cooperation (for example, joint military training with NATO countries within the framework of the newly accepted Partnership for Peace project). In no case should we look with disrespect at Meciar's Slovakia—the existence of a politically and economically stable country between us and the former USSR is in the Czech Republic's vital interest!

The Czech State—Reality Number Two

Of course, our domestic development and a quick and conflict-free completion of the economic transformation of the democratic state are the most important things. The economic and political stability and power are the basis for every well-functioning society, but we need more than that. We should be aware and proud of the fact that we belong to this country and state, and that we are part of its 1,000-year-long history.

Meciar Views Minority Rights, Army, Politics

AU2201182894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by Pavol Vitko: "Political Parties Are Allegedly Spying Within the Army"]

[Text] "Some political parties have gone beyond the acceptable limits in wanting to establish collective rights for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. If they want to continue to escalate the tension, then they have to be prepared to face the state power. No provinces will be established. You and we are the guaranties that it will not happen.... This state does not intend to give up an inch of its territory. This would provoke a conflict in Europe," Prime Minister Meciar said at a meeting with Defense Ministry officials in Bratislava yesterday.

In this connection, the prime minister explained his opinion on the signs in communities with an ethnically mixed population. He said that the government demands that the names of communities be given in the ethnic minority's language as a translation from Slovak. He did not agree with the Castle's [the president's] opinion, according to which the ethnic minorities can chose their own names. He said that the minorities enjoyed rights that are higher than standard, and even President Clinton expressed, during a meeting with him, his rejective stance on collective rights. Because of that, Prime Minister Meciar expressed his hope that the Slovak-Hungarian treaty that is being drafted will also contain a passage on the inviolability of the borders.

"Slovakia accepts the opinion that Europe should be safe for all of us. We want to build a unified Europe and we must not allow Europe to be partitioned according to the spheres of interest," the prime minister continued. He expressed satisfaction over our participation in the Partnership For Peace project, despite the fact that "some people forgot to mention the Slovak Republic in connection with this initiative or assumed that Slovakia would not join the initiative." The prime minister added that should Zhirinovskiy come to power in Russia, a new fascist regime would be installed there representing a threat to the whole of Europe. In this connection he stressed the need of additional intensive military ties with NATO.

Vladimir Meciar said that one of the demands is for the Army to introduce tougher discipline, radically intensify training, introduce an army structure different from that based on the divisions, and establish civilian control over the Army. He said that the Slovak Republic Army has a budget of 10 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] this year, which is more than last year. Next year, the Army will receive even more. He said that as repayment of the Soviet debt, the Army should receive technology worth $180 million. (Slovak Republic Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak said after the meeting that, in this case, spare parts, and not new weapon systems, would be delivered—Editorial note.)

From the viewpoint of the military development, the prime minister described 1994 as a year of government efforts to stabilize its position and that of its political partners, so as to be able to face political forces that hold different opinions. He said that the government expects the economy to rebound this year, but the social system will be one or two years behind, if for no other reason than because the state will have to repay a debt of Sk31.3 billion by 1995, which represents Sk24.4 this year, while it was only Sk7 billion last year.

In 1990, the Army was depoliticized. This means that soldiers and officers must not be members of any political party, and they must not perform any activity for any party, Vladimir Meciar said. "Some political parties have data on the Army, and this is unacceptable. The state is above the Army and is not interested in political disputes within the Army. This would pose an enormous risk," the prime minister stressed.

At the news conference that was supposed to take place after the prime minister's speech we wanted to ask which political parties have planted their spies within the Army. Prime Minister Meciar, however, got rid of the journalists roughly. His aide, an officer, was given this task and ordered the journalist out of the hall. He said that they had 10 minutes to take photos, and then they were to wait in a nearby lobby. Most of the journalists did so. When the prime minister came, the journalists did not react to his call for questions for about three minutes, as some of them were still looking for their places. Suddenly, a voice said: "Since there are no questions, the news conference is over." Then, Vladimir Meciar and his escort left the hall. However, we believe that he will return to the problem of spies within the Army....

Council of Europe Official on Minorities Policy

AU2401081494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Aspects of Human Rights; M.A. Martinez Received by Leading Representatives of the Slovak Republic"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—[passage omitted] Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic received Miguel Angel Martinez, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in the early evening yesterday. Their talks concerned primarily aspects of human and civic rights of individuals and national communities, the ratification of the Slovak Republic's agreement on association with the European Union [EU] by the parliaments of EU member states, and the Partnership for Peace project. [passage omitted]

At a briefing held after the meeting, Miguel Angel Martinez reiterated his conviction that Slovakia is a country respecting the freedom of citizens and their right of assembly. The Komarno rally [of representatives of the Hungarian minority on 8 January 1994] is a proof of this. Ivan Gasparovic stressed the fact that M.A. Martinez had declared his visit as a working trip to one of the member countries of the Council of Europe and not as an inspection.

The highest representative of the National Council of the Slovak Republic briefed his guest about the territorial and administrative division of Slovakia currently under preparation and about Slovakia's rejection of the [Hungarian minority representatives'] project of the country's division on the basis of the ethnic principle. He also spoke with him about planned legislation addressing the issue of designating the names of communities in the language of ethnic minorities and the writing of their names and surnames. The president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe showed understanding for this approach. [passage omitted]

Later in the evening, at the end of the first day of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly delegation's stay in Slovakia, Miguel Angel Martinez was received by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Minorities in Hungary Seek Direct Representation

LD2101212594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Representatives of minorities living in Hungary met at a roundtable in order to discuss the last opportunity to gain entry into the National Assembly. The recently approved electoral law does not give this opportunity to members of national minorities in Hungary. Our correspondent Gregor Martin Papucek reports from Budapest:

[Begin Papucek recording] The consultative body—also called a minority roundtable—of 13 enthnic groups who enjoy minority status in Hungary decided at its meeting in Budapest today to make a last attempt to resolve the question of direct and independent representation of minorities in the parliament. Michal Mata, the executive chairman of the Union of Slovaks in Hungary, who was present at the meeting, told me that the participants in the roundtable no longer nurtured high hopes. Nonetheless, they will write a letter to the president, prime minister, and the parliamentary speaker. They will also ask a parliamentary deputy to open up the whole problem again in the National Assembly and convey views and proposals of the representatives of the minorities. [passage omitted]

The minorities roundtable will thus make another attempt to engage in talks with representatives of parliamentary parties. It makes no secret of the fact that it wants to lobby in order to change the current electoral law. If this endeavor brings no results the minorities are prepared to appeal to international institutions. This is the united view of all participants in the roundtable. True, they would prefer the issue to be resolved at home. But as Michal Mata told me, the minorities roundtable is not willing to accept any solution other then a direct and independent representation of national and ethnic groups in the parliament. Thus some kind of a council for minorities or an ombudsman especially for minorities issues does not come into consideration. This would amount to very little. Such attempts at seeking a solution outside of parliament have recently gained strength in political circles. [end recording]

Investigation of Hungarian Minority Organization

AU2001120594 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 13 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Incompatibility With Program and Statutes; Slovak General Prosecutor's Office Objections"]

[Text] Bratislava—In connection with activities carried out by the Association of Zitny Ostrov [Rye Island, Hungarian-inhabited area in southern Slovakia] Towns and Villages [ZMOZO] on 27 December 1993, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic sent a letter to ZMOZO Chairman Stefan Pasztor, in which, acting in accordance with Article 12, paragraph 3 of law No. 83 of 1990, it points out that the aims and tasks of the association as contained in the ZMOZO appeal of 6 December 1993 are not compatible with its program and statutes. This is stated in a letter addressed by the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic to Ivan Duris, chairman of the Republican Party of the Slovak Republic, yesterday, in reply to his request that this institution investigate ZMOZO's activities.

In the event that the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic ascertains that the association is engaged in activities reserved for political parties and movements and violate principles contained in Article 3, paragraphs 1 and 2 of law No. 38 of 1990 or that run counter to Articles 4 or 5 of law No. 83 of 1990, it will take measures within the framework of its powers arising from provisions of Article 12, paragraph 3, letter c) of the aforementioned law, the letter from the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic states.

Government Fails To Meet Deadline on Dam

AU2101214194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 94 pp 1, 8

[Report by Jan Skoda: "Waiting Not for Water but for the Government"]

[Excerpts] On Monday [17 January], Hungary presented to the European Union [EU] headquarters in Brussels its official response to the EU experts' recommendation concerning the division of Danube water at Gabcikovo. This was announced by Gyorgy Tatar, Hungarian ministerial commissioner [title as published] for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric power project. Tatar stated in the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG that, while Hungary submitted its response by the EU's deadline, the same allegedly cannot be said of Slovakia.

We have, therefore, contacted the Slovak mission at the EU headquarters in Brussels and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bratislava. They confirmed to us that, in a letter at the beginning of the year, Jan Lisuch, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asked EU mediator Pablo Benavidez to extend the original 15

January deadline, set for the Hungarian and Slovak sides to submit their responses, until the end of the month. He explained this request by the fact that the Slovak Government has been unable to discuss its standpoint so far. The standpoint had been prepared several times, but it was necessary to incorporate into it comments from individual government departments, which has delayed the whole process. According to Vladimir Cemez, PhD, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the response was to be on the agenda of yesterday's meeting of the Slovak Government. According to our information, however, this did not happen. [passage omitted]

Hungary is now accusing us that a month and a half was not enough for us to assume a position on the EU's recommendation concerning the temporary division of Danube waters. Gyorgy Tatar claims, moreover, that the Slovak attitude actually confirms our negative stand on the EU recommendation, which, according to Hungarian newspapers, proposes that 40 percent of the Danube water remain in the river's original bed and that Budapest build two small dams on its territory.

In this affair, which may seem immaterial, we are, thus, once again in the position of the "evil" side that does not honor its commitments. Without trying to act as a judge, let us only observe that, this time, this is absolutely unnecessary.

Minister Reacts to CSCE Human Rights Report

AU2101153194 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak in 11 Jan 94 pp 6, 7

[Article by Roman Hofbauer, minister of transportation, communications, and public works: "The Storm's Distant Thunder; Dawns and Dusks of Year 1"—"abridged" article published in the weekly SLOVENSKE NARODNE NOVINY, date not given]

[Text] On 17 September 1993 at 0830, the telefax at the Secretariat of the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works started to churn out a report from an overseas sender. Initially, I had doubts and thought that the document might be a forgery. Unfortunately, however, the material was authentic and its contents deserved attention, because of its quite peculiar orientation. It was a report by the U.S. Congress Helsinki Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, [prepared] under the auspices of liaison officer Erika B. Schlager. The text of the report deserves to be published in full, not only to document the present, but also for the sake of history. It documents the concerns of U.S. senators who are, at the same time, leading representatives of the U.S. Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Their concern about freedom and democracy in the state between the Danube river and the Tatra mountains is all the more remarkable as they probably never set foot on its territory, which ordinary Americans mostly confuse with Slovenia or Croatia and which they place somewhere in the Balkans.

The full text of the report follows:

CSCE PRESS REPORT

COMMISSION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

For immediate circulation

Liaison: Erika B. Schlager

Washington 9 September 1993. Senator Dennis De Concini (Democrat - Arizona) and Representative Steny H. Hoyer (Democrat—Maryland), chairman and deputy chairman of the Helsinki Commission, have sent the following letter to Peter Burian, charge d'affaires at the Slovak Embassy in Washington:

"We feel obliged to voice our concern regarding Slovakia's continued intolerance for non-Slovak ethnic and religious communities, as reported in the press. In word and deed, Slovakia's officials have raised serious doubts about the state's willingness to observe human rights commitments voluntarily accepted by the new state as part of the Helsinki process. The acts and statements of several Slovak government officials not only give grounds for warranted apprehension about the security of minorities in Slovakia, but also about the prospects of democracy itself.

"For example, the highest officials of the present government—including Prime Minister Meciar and Minister of Culture Dusan Slobodnik—have repeatedly warned that those who 'slander' the Slovak state or disseminate 'erroneous information' about it, or are not 'objective' in their reports, should be punished or subjected to control. This intimidation is reminiscent of the legal situation under communism, such as the well-known ban on 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' in the Soviet Union. Moreover, by systematically defaming the press, Slovak representatives have taken steps, the clear result of which is the stifling of freedom of speech. In this context, the political use of the state subsidies system in converting the Slovak economy to a market economy comes to our mind [sentence as published].

"Moreover, as we have noticed, the general approach of intolerance is being stepped up. In the course of the last few weeks, Slovak Minister of Transportation Roman Hofbauer started a campaign to render impossible the use of the Hungarian language in traffic signs throughout the state territory. Leaving aside questions concerning the economic justifiability of expenditures, this uncompromisingly controlled and highly centralized manner of governing does not heed the interests of local communities. This runs counter to specific commitments undertaken by the Slovak Government upon admission to the Council of Europe and the general assurances made by Prime Minister Meciar to Congressman Tom Lantos this spring about a just approach to minority communities.

"This week we have heard further disquieting reports. First, it has been announced that, in his speech at Spisska Nova Ves, Prime Minister Meciar warned against the high birth rate in the Romany (Gypsy) community, claiming

that 'if we are not going to deal with them, after a while they will deal with us. We must perceive them as a problematic group that is constantly growing.' In the light of Slovak deportations of Romanies to death camps during World War II and the forced sterilization of Romany women under the postwar communist regime, these are shocking statements. They are also in sharp contrast to Slovakia's commitment, adopted at the CSCE forum in Copenhagen in 1990 and approved by the Slovak Government in January 1993, 'to clearly and unambiguously condemn totalitarianism, racism and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and any discrimination, as well as persecution for religious and ideological beliefs. In this context the participating states also acknowledge the special problems of Romanies (Gypsies).'

"It has also been announced that a U.S. citizen serving in the Slovak Jewish community—Rabbi Baruch Myers—was assaulted in Bratislava this week. Apparently, the manner of public pronouncements by representatives of the Slovak Government about the problems of minorities in the course of last year might have contributed to an atmosphere that is conducive to official indifference to racially-motivated attacks, or even to their toleration. In sum, this development has seriously disrupted confidence in the process of Slovak conversion to democracy.

"The CSCE will meet in Warsaw in a few weeks to discuss human rights, including questions of CSCE member states' observance of their commitments. We would welcome by then any supplementary information on the problems we have outlined."

Cowardly Slovak Charge d'Affaires

Since the authors of the letter and the report, and exponents of the views expounded in them, expressed their interest in any further information on their assertions (concerns?!), which they would welcome, a prompt and businesslike reaction was to be expected from those to whom these alleged problems, which are actually accusations, were addressed.

The first reaction came from the Slovak charge d'affaires in Washington (not from our ambassador because, after nine months of existence as an independent state, our republic still does not have an appointed ambassador in the world's foremost superpower). This reaction to the assertions raised was more than cowardly. He expressed the view that realities in the Slovak Republic were not as bad as presented in the senators' viewpoint or as they appear to be, and that intolerance or anti-Semitism occur, as they do also in other states. Well, the reaction to the senators' letter, to such grievous accusations—accusations, not concerns!—of our state, our government, and our supreme constitutional officials was neither fish nor fowl and almost apologetic. The worldwide dissemination of a written statement by senior senators of the CSCE committee on the eve of the drafting and the discussion of a final CSCE report on human rights in Warsaw and the naming of [Slovak] constitutional representatives in connection with untrue assertions extracted from one-sided information sources—that has nothing to do with concerns! The diplomatic vocabulary and the diplomatic code have established very precise rules in this regard.

Silent Foreign Ministry

The staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the sovereign and freely and democratically established Slovak Republic considered the whole matter settled with the Washington charge d'affaires' statement. So it seems, at least, for the ministry itself did not react at all.

I do not like it when anyone associates me, as a member of the Slovak Government, with alleged permanent Slovak intolerance, suppression of freedom of speech, ban on the use of the Hungarian language, deportation of Romanies to death camps, the forceful sterilization of Romany women, or even toleration of racially motivated attacks in Slovakia. I therefore assumed a clear and unequivocal stand on all points in the report.

For the sake of documenting the present for the future, I consider it warranted to acquaint the public with my reaction. It is uncommon in the world of diplomacy to make such correspondence public but, in doing so, I am only following in the steps of the U.S. senators, whose action went beyond the framework of diplomatic fairness.

My Reaction to the Congressmen's Report

"In connection with the report of Senator Dennis D. Concini (Democrat—Arizona) and Representative Steny H. Hoyer (Democrat—Maryland) of 13 September 1993, intended for the CSCE, in which the two gentlemen express their apprehensions about Slovakia's alleged continuous intolerance of non-Slovak ethnic and religious communities, about alleged punishment and control of the press with the alleged aim of stifling freedom of the press, about the transportation minister's alleged campaign to render impossible the usage of the Hungarian language, about Prime Minister Meciar's alleged statements directed against the Romany ethnic group, or about the allegedly racially-motivated assault on Rabbi Baruch Myers, a U.S. citizen serving in the Slovak religious community—I consider it unavoidable to inform you about the following:

"1. I think it is deplorable that the aforementioned gentlemen assume a stand on a state, the existence of which they are aware only on the basis of tendentious and distorted arbitrary information. It would be extremely beneficial if they visited our country personally, to confront their apprehensions directly with the persons they mention in their report. This would be the easiest way to convince them that their apprehensions are based on arbitrary disinformation.

"2. The Constitution and the entire state legal framework establish scope for a democratic and free society, to which intolerance of non-Slovak ethnic groups and religious communities is alien. The Slovak Republic is the

only European post-communist country that has thoroughly redressed the wrongs of the past that were committed against all churches. This redress of wrongs is based on a return to the situation prior to 1948 (communist coup) or 1945. The Jewish religious community constitutes the only exception; the starting point for redressing the wrongs committed against it is 2 November 1938, that is, the date of the occupation of southern Slovakia by fascist Horthyite Hungary in the wake of the Vienna arbitrage. Your assertions about Slovakia's continued intolerance are completely false.

"3. In respecting the freedom of the press, the government is basing its policy on Council of Europe Resolution 1003 of 1 July 1993 on journalistic ethics. I am enclosing the text of this resolution. Unlike journalists in advanced democratic countries, some representatives of our press confuse reports with commentaries, facts with hypotheses, arguments with opinions, and comprehensive information with excerpts torn out of context. I am of the opinion that the Council of Europe recommendations concerning this issue are warranted and correct. I hope that you are of the same opinion.

"No one in the government can control the press because in Slovakia there is no censorship. If, however, journalists are authors of damaging lies, it is possible to seek legal recourse in conformity with valid laws. Judicial power is independent of the state in our country. The realization of such steps has nothing to do with suppressing the freedom of the press but is a normal legal mechanism of a democratic state, such as is applied also in other free and democratic states of the world.

"4. Statements about the 'extermination' of the Hungarian language from Ministry of Transportation road signs are grossly distorted. In every state there is an established legal framework for traffic signs that cannot be changed at will and arbitrarily on the basis of the views of a certain ethnic community. If such a situation were common in all states, it would lead to organizational chaos in traffic signs. Even in the United States there is a large number of traffic signs with inscriptions, and I did not notice languages of other nations being used on them. If my observations were inaccurate, I would welcome more specific details from your side.

"5. Prime Minister Meciar's alleged statements about the Romany community were apparently gleaned from the Czech news agency CTK. Its journalist [Karel] Hirman put into Prime Minister Meciar's mouth words that he did not utter. Because slander of this kind is criminally liable in civilized and democratic states, the prosecuting authorities have initiated proceedings against him.

"6. The physical assault on Rabbi Baruch Myers of the Jewish community was connected with the deplorable growth in crime in the wake of the opening up of society and had nothing to do with racial motives. The offenders were three juveniles who stole Mr. Baruch Myers' characteristic black hat. They were detained still on the day of the theft and the stolen object was returned to its owner.

"I consider it extremely unfortunate that our state is assessed by persons who have never been in our country and on the basis of out of context information. Such a course of action cannot be positively received, also in view of the methods that had been applied against our country until recently and that we thought were a matter of the past since 1989."

Assurance That Was Not Kept

My reaction went to Eleonor Sutter, U.S. charge d'affaires in Bratislava, Senators Steny H. Hoyer and Dennis De Concini, the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Slovak American National Council in the United States.

After the intervention of the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [Ivan Gasparovic] with those who prepared the report in the United States, the Slovak side was assured that, in view of the Slovak side's objections, the report would not be published. This was presently disavowed, as confirmed also by the commission's assistant Erika B. Schlager, and the report was widely distributed to the public. Can it be considered a coincidence that this happened immediately before our talks with the World Bank?

One can calmly reason that this is quite an effective point of departure for levying financial and economic sanctions against a country that has been questioned in this way. Sufficient scope is created for intervention by UN troops, with massive participation by the Marines, in the interest of protecting human rights and combating racism. Scope is created for the materialization of the intention to peacefully alter borders in Central Europe on the basis of arbitrage by the world powers. He who does not believe this, let him study the U.S. Congress Helsinki Commission's report about Slovakia to realize where it is necessary to intervene against evil, in the interest of the good. The world powers did this twice before, at the international arbitrages in Munich and Vienna [in September and November 1938], for the sake of saving peace and calm and in the interest of addressing the situation of minorities deprived of their rights. After their "remedial" steps, millions of Czechs and hundreds of thousands of Slovaks found themselves in the position of minorities without rights in Germany and Hungary. Instead of the longed-for peace, the war broke out!

Mrs. Schlager's Sources of Information

I am of the opinion that it is appropriate to stop for a while to consider a matter of principle—the sources of information about the Slovak Republic on which documents of this kind draw, and to which they refer. In an interview for Radio Free Europe, Erika B. Schlager said

that members of the U.S. Congress Helsinki Commission are responsible for the preparation of the aforementioned report.

According to Erika Schlager's information, staffers of various U.S. Congress offices travelled to Slovakia and their reports served as a point of departure in preparing the aforementioned document. Hence, this is not the viewpoint of private persons but a document expressing views that are close to the U.S. Administration. The report on Slovakia also draws on materials sent by various people directly from Slovakia, materials of unofficial institutions in the United States which monitor developments in Slovakia, and many articles from various Slovak newspapers and magazines. Mrs. Schlager, who was in Slovakia twice, in 1990 and 1992 (!!!), states that the view that the report's section on minorities is based on clippings from the Hungarian press is not quite accurate.

There is really nothing to be added to this, except, perhaps, for one thing: It suffices to attentively study the senators' letter and the "apprehensions" concerning democracy and freedom in Slovakia expressed in it, to very easily identify the press sources of such reports from Slovakia. These are newspapers that given their print run, the number of unsold issues, and attained economic results, should have theoretically gone bankrupt and perished a long time ago. In spite of that, these newspapers are prospering, evidently not from their own resources. It is being said in some circles that the pay of some of their reporters, who dip their pen in venom and spread untruths about Slovakia, reaches four digits and not in korunas, as everyone knows....

Nothing happens of its own accord, without a cause. Let us identify the aims of this escalated anti-Slovak crusade and we will come to understand the steps being prepared and realized and, in particular, their purpose. Let us assert our interests, our needs, and our plans.

Only, let us do this quickly, effectively, and vigorously.

Our ill-wishers are doing it too!

Current developments within the state and abroad signal the warranted risk that the Slovak Republic may not live to see the second anniversary of its independence. It should, and definitely will, live to see it, however! And not just the second anniversary but countless further anniversaries, within the framework of the broad family of sovereign European national republics.

No nation in the world is better off under foreign rule, no matter what foreign rule this is, than when it decides on its affairs itself.

Well, then: Shall we let ourselves be intimidated, perturbed, divided, and corrupted?! Shall we allow the social atmosphere to be poisoned by ill-wishers who are full of hatred and who, not infrequently, wage a struggle for foreign interests and aims for foreign money?

Or shall we confirm the continuation, along our own path, into our own promised land? After all, the results achieved in the brief period of the first year of our statehood are far more favorable than expected by any world political scientists, economic experts, and forecasters. We are also facing considerable problems, which is understandable. We are building and furnishing the home of our own statehood in conditions of a deep worldwide economic recession. But just as bad weather can only improve after some time, depression can only be followed by prosperity. We are not going to achieve it in a month or two. We are going to make it, however, provided all of us will really want it!

The decision is in our hands and our decisions will affect many generations of our children's children. Let our decisions be wise.

Government To Purchase More Arms From Russia

LD2101210894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Within the framework of reducing debts owed to Slovakia by the former Soviet Union, Slovakia will purchase military equipment in Russia to the tune of between $80 and $90 million. This was stated by Igor Urban, state secretary of the Slovak Defense Ministry, following his talks with Russian officials in Moscow. According to him, experts from both countries will discuss in the weeks to follow the precise amount and kind of equipment to be purchased. Igor Urban, who signed a plan for military cooperation between the Slovak and Russian Defense Ministries in Moscow today, remarked that at issue was equipment that the Slovak Armed Forces will use in the current year.

Kovac Cancels Appearances for Health Reasons

AU2101164894 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 19 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by "sm" in the "Rumor" column: "Problem With Blood Pressure"]

[Text] The president of the Slovak Republic [Michal Kovac] did not attend Thursday's [13 January] news conference with representatives of the Slovak Republic who participated in the Prague summit of the Visegrad Four countries with U.S. President Bill Clinton. He was undergoing an examination at that time and, after receiving an infusion, had to lie down for a while. The president also canceled the recording of the "Mr. President, Allow Me To..." [television] program, which was to have been broadcast on Monday, 17 January]. We have learned from circles close to the head of state that the president has blood pressure problems and that he is very tired from a heavy work burden. Supposedly, it is nothing serious.

Poll on Views After Fall of Communism

AU2401131694 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by Engineer Okaliova: "Expectations and Reality; Citizens' Views on Developments After 17 November 1989"]

[Text] "Have your expectations regarding the development of our society after 17 November 1989 been fulfilled or not?" In December 1993, the Slovak Statistical Office put this question to 1,272 respondents representative of the adult population of Slovakia in terms of sex, age, nationality, education, size of community of residence, and geographical part of Slovakia.

Respondent's expectations	Percent
Have mostly been fulfilled	4
Some have been fulfilled, some not	22
Have mostly not been fulfilled	44
Did not have any expectations	26
Do not know	4

A look at the structure of the sample of respondents regarding replies to individual questions shows that the most satisfied with developments in our society after 17 November 1989 (that is, those whose expectations have been fulfilled for the most part, or at least partially) are those sympathetic toward the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (45 percent) and respondents in the 40-49 (32 percent) and 18-24 (31 percent) age groups. The relatively most disappointed with the post-November developments are citizens who are currently unemployed (61 percent) and those who do not sympathize with any political party or movement (51 percent).

No expectations regarding the development of society were harbored, in particular, by citizens showing sympathy for the Party of the Democratic Left (32 percent).

The respondents were asked, furthermore, to reply spontaneously—that is, without any possible replies being indicated—in what specifically their expectations have or have not been fulfilled. Among the most frequently cited positive replies were the feeling of greater freedom and democracy in general (8 percent), as well as the freedom of movement and the possibility to travel. The freedom of enterprise and the possibility of self-realization were cited by 7 percent of respondents. Negative replies were more frequent, particularly those referring to the lack of an improvement in the living standards of the population (30 percent), in the economy (12 percent), in the sphere of political life (10 percent), and in unemployment (10 percent). A general turn for the worse was noted by 16 percent of respondents.

In view of the fact that the smallest number of fulfilled expectations was in the sphere of the economy and living standards, citizens were asked to deliver their opinion on tasks in the economic sphere. In the respondents' view, in the interest of economic recovery the government should, above all, draft a comprehensive concept of economic policy (38 percent), support small and medium-sized businessmen by means of tax cuts (24 percent), extend financial benefits to employers creating new jobs (23 percent), support the development of future-oriented branches (20 percent), support the creation of socially useful jobs and the organization of work beneficial to the public (17 percent), and create suitable conditions for the influx of foreign capital (16 percent).

The completion of large-scale privatization figured last among the required measures, with 9 percent of respondents noting the necessity of completing it by means of the coupon method and 6 percent by means of standard privatization methods.

ΩMeciar, Toth Replace Industrial Managers

94P20216A

[Editorial Report] A major Slovak daily has suggested that Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Deputy Prime Minister (and Finance Minister) Julius Toth, through their leading positions in the Fund for National Property (FFNP), have been trying to replace the managers of large industrial enterprises with stalwart supporters of their own party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). In an article entitled "Meciar's and Toth's Personal War With the Giants: Who Covets Economic Power in the State?," the editors of the independent SLOVENSKY VYCHOD asked, "Could it be that...the HZDS wants to install 'its own men' at the highest management level in these enterprises," replacing managers who "are not completely loyal" to Meciar? The paper goes on to suggest that the prime minister and the finance minister had "other than populist" reasons for trying to deal with the management shortage that besets many of the large Slovak industrial enterprises.

"It is generally known," says the 20 December issue of the Kosice daily, that "the Slovak economy was not (and could not have been) prepared, particularly at the managerial level, for the developments that followed November 1989. There are simply not enough experienced people around, with high professional qualifications, capable of coping with contemporary challenges." While the government has for some time been looking for a way out of the situation, the HZDS immediately after its 1992 election victory "prepared a plan for carrying out its personnel policies." This plan, according to the daily, "extended practically to all levels of Slovak society—from top to bottom, from Bratislava to the last district town, and from there down to all kinds of individual offices, including even cultural and sport offices." The paper claims that Meciar, who is not only the prime minister but also the minister of privatization and administration of national property and chairman of the Presidium of the FFNP, along with Toth, who is not only deputy prime minister but also minister of finance and chairman of the Supervisory Board of the FFNP,

have recently taken a direct hand in "preparing personnel changes in 21 large enterprises in which the FFNP holds, as a percentage of the whole, an important number of shares."

"Why," asks the daily, "do V. Meciar and J. Toth want to go through with these fundamental personnel changes with such haste—as early as the beginning of January 1994? Why are they calling for extraordinary general meetings and changes in the bylaws?" After all, declares SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, "such a quick job" cannot lead to the desired stabilization and invigoration of Slovak industry and can only produce "a shock that will bring about more insecurity" in an economy that is "already short on stability."

Fur Discusses Defense Ministry Reorganization

AU2101164694 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Zoltan Fekete; place and date not given: "There Will Be Three State Secretaries in the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] [Fekete] Mr. Fur, the basic principles and laws worked out by your ministry have always shown a high level of compromise readiness. Do you think that the changes announced yesterday and valid as of 1 March will divide the public and possibly the army as well?

[Fur] I do not think so, because these changes are precisely the results of the Defense Law based on a broad parliamentary consensus. Every political force represented in parliament accepted the need and timing for these changes. Only the Hungarian Socialist Party would have carried out the changes after the elections. However, the law required the elimination of the divided structure, and our history and traditions also oblige us to create the leading army bodies required by NATO in its recent concept of Partnership for Peace. One of the major factors of joining NATO will be the assertion of civilian control over the Army and the guiding role of the political echelon in every country. On behalf of the Defense Ministry, I can assure you that we will continue to inform the political parties and groups immediately about our every concept and step and, according to the possibilities, we will also use their opinions.

[Fekete] What will the top leadership of the Defense Ministry consist of?

[Fur] According to our plans, and contrary to the current state administration practice, there will be three state secretaries in the Defense Ministry: a political state secretary, an administrative state secretary, and a state secretary who is an Army commander or chief of staff.

[Fekete] Many people fear that this structure could collapse if the defense minister is an Army officer.

[Fur] According to the general practice in Europe, the defense minister is a civilian, and I do not think that it is worth parting with this practice in the future. Our current step guarantees the institutional cooperation of the Defense Ministry and the Hungarian Army in harmony with the Defense Law, and it also improves their efficiency.

[Fekete] Some 10 days ago, you announced the retirement of some Army officers in leading positions. You also confirmed this during the government spokesman's news conference held on 14 January. Does this mainly affect the Hungarian Army generals, or the staff of the Defense Ministry?

[Fur] The law and regulations stipulating the requirement for professional Army personnel to retire at the age of 55 are still valid. This means that these people must retire when they reach this age, not simultaneously but gradually as they reach the age of 55. Among the generals in question, two generals will become 55 in the first half of 1994, and the others will become 55 in the second half of 1994. I can also say after the government session that the changes affect various levels, both higher and lower levels. Mr. Kalman Lorincz, whom I would like to thank for his activity so far, also declared at the meeting that he had finished the task he received in 1989 and he would become 55 on 11 February 1994.

Crude Oil Deliveries From Russia Resume

AU2101173194 Paris AFP in English 1622 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Budapest, Jan 21 (AFP)—Russian crude deliveries to Hungary on the Friendship pipeline resumed Friday [21 January] following a two-and-a-half day break since Tuesday, officials of the state-owned Hungarian Oil and Gas Company (MOL) said. The supply break was due to administrative problems at Nafta, the Russian exporter, MOL said.

The break, which "was not the first example of a halt of supplies", did not affect work at Hungary's oil refineries and resulted only in rescheduling a 40,000-ton delivery to Hungary, the officials said. Last year, Hungary imported 5.1 million tonnes of crude from Russia and this year's imports were also planned to exceed five million tons, they said.

Polls Show Socialists Most Popular Party

AU1901162394 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 94

[Unattributed report: "MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] in Close Contest—Political Sympathies at the End of the Year"]

[Text] From the data of public opinion polls, it is impossible to directly deduce the expected results at the elections, however, the results are usually also assessed from this point of view.

Party Sympathies

Name	Result (Percent)
Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)	30
Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ)	22
Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)	14
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	12
Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP)	8
Independent Smallholders Party (FKGP)	8
Other Party	8

Sample size: 936 people

Table I shows the order of parties among those people who said that they would definitely vote at elections "this Sunday" and who revealed which party they would vote for. As is shown, the MSZP, due to its stable and

active voting base, is leading the list almost 10 percent ahead of the FIDESZ, whose voting base mainly consists of uncertain voters, and as a result of the events in the past few months, the stable voters and the representatives of this stratum are also turning away from the FIDESZ. The SZDSZ and the MDF are only following these two parties on the third and fourth place after a big gap.

Parties Definitely Not To Be Chosen, December 1993

Name	Result (Percent)
MSZP	7
FIDESZ	3
SZDSZ	1
MDF	20
KDNP	2
FKGP	14
Other Party	16
Would Not Vote	34

From time to time, we also show the antagonistic feelings against the parties, when people "definitely would not choose" a particular party (Table II). A significant change has taken place in this respect in the last month. The MDF, that has been slowly but surely rising on this list during the year to above 30 percent, has now started to move downwards: It suddenly changed its position from the 29 percent in November to 20 percent.

On the other hand, the MSZP that has been showing a very positive result—some 3 percent—for a long time can now claim a 7 percent level of dislike.

During the surveys, we also usually ask which party is likely to win at the parliamentary elections in the spring. Compared to November, there has not been any change in the order, the MSZP (20 percent) is continuing to lead with a considerable advantage, and it is followed by the FIDESZ (13 percent) and the SZDSZ (10 percent). However, the results of these three parties have decreased by 1 or 2 percent, and the percentage of those people who predict the MDF's victory, and of those who cannot answer the question, increased to the same extent. Considering that these changes are small and cannot yet be seen as trends, serious conclusions cannot be drawn from them.

The death of [former Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall coincided with our survey (we questioned 40 percent of the people before and 60 percent after this event). We cannot avoid asking if the death of the prime minister affected the party sympathies, and in what way.

According to our results, the fact that views on the MDF (and to a lesser extent, its coalition partners) changed is certainly closely related to Antall's death.

Up to 12 December, 5 percent (of all the surveyed people) would have voted on the MDF, and this changed to 8 percent afterwards. In the case of the KDNP and the FKGP, there is a 2 to 3 percent decrease between these two periods.

On the scale of dislikes, the MDF had 24 percent before 12 December and only 18 percent after this. The level of dislike of the FKGP increased by some 3 percent between the two periods.

On the list of parties that would be elected to Parliament, in the two periods, the MDF had 6 and 12 percent respectively, while the already low results of its coalition partners decreased by another 2 to 3 percent.

According to the survey, the results of the opposition parties did not change after the death of the prime minister. Therefore, we can conclude that the MDF increased its strength to the detriment of the other coalition parties, rather than that of the opposition parties. However, we will only be able to draw trends after assessing the party preferences in the coming months.

Nemeth Not To Run in Spring Elections

94P20247A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by P.Sz.: "The Former Prime Minister's Several Hours' Long Talk With the Chairman of the MSZP—Miklos Nemeth Is Not Coming Home for the Spring Election"]

[Text] According to information received by our paper, Party [Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)] Chairman Gyula Horn and former Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth held talks for two and a half hours on Monday in the Socialist Party's headquarters on Koztarsasag Square. The MSZP's three vice chairmen and the party's parliamentary group leader were also present at the consultation. According to our information, the discussion focused on finally clarifying the possibilities that exist in the event that Miklos Nemeth returns home.

Our paper was informed that Horn and Nemeth agreed to announce the former prime minister's decision shortly in a joint communique. In connection with the decision, we learned that Nemeth does not want to break the contract he has until 1996—that is, he wants to stay on in the position of vice president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and will not return in the spring to take part in the Hungarian election campaign.

This finally puts an end to the uncertainty concerning the former government chief's acceptance of a political role at home, because, according to our information, we can also exclude any possibility of Nemeth's coming to Hungary after the elections and, depending on their outcome, filling a position offered to him.

It also became clear that Nemeth was not thinking of working out any kind of Christian-Socialist alternative

and that, as far as he was concerned, only a possible invitation from the MSZP could have played a role.

New Cultural Committee Chief on Media Law

94P20246A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jan 94 pp 1, 4

[Article by J. Tibor Keri on statements made to him by Attila Zsigmond, Hungarian Democratic Forum deputy and chairman of the parliament's Cultural Committee: "Media Law Possible by Spring"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Attila Zsigmond (MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]) rejected opposition suggestions that passage of the media law is not in the government's interest. He announced that the government coalition indeed wanted and still wants the law to be created and that the government has a role to play in ending the parliament's negligence, which violates the Constitution. He added that the irregular situation that has developed in the media is not advantageous to anyone.

The chairman of the Cultural Committee said that the experts' draft of the media law is finished and that the ministries are now holding discussions on it to resolve their differences. Until conciliation is achieved, the draft cannot be submitted to the National Assembly. The chairman of the Cultural Committee asserted that he is confident that the government's recommendation will build on those elements of the draft law on which a consensus developed previously. He does not see any chance, however, for changing the so-called appointment law, which this parliament passed, or for "upgrading" the role of the Radio and Television Office.

According to Attila Zsigmond, if everything goes well, committee debate on the media draft law will start in February, and resolution of differences among the parties will be able to proceed concurrently. Zsigmond would particularly like to urge the latter. If political agreement can be reached, work on the law can speed up significantly, he added. In that case, the media law can be passed by the middle of April, the chairman of the Cultural Committee emphasized.

Zsigmond also asserted that a clean campaign does not depend on passage of the media law. What is absolutely necessary is a neutral stance on the part of journalists and honesty on the part of the political participants in the campaign. He added that now even those people who previously paid only lip service to passing the media law want it passed. Countless problems could have been avoided with television and radio if the media law had been passed before, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

Russia's Zhirinovskiy To Visit 27 Jan

LD2101214694 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, accompanied by a seven-member delegation, will arrive in Warsaw on Thursday, 27 January, at 1000. Apart from Zhirinovskiy, the star of the delegation will no doubt be Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, who is of Polish descent and was recently elected as deputy chairman of the Duma.

Rightists Appeal for Ban

LD2201202594 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia network]

[Text] The political council of the Movement for the Republic has decided to join the coalition, formed on 10 November, of Center Accord, the Christian-National Union, and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord. The coalition of these four parties has approached the minister of foreign affairs demanding that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Russian nationalists who is planning to visit us at the end of January, not be allowed into Poland.

Pawlak Discusses Economic Matters With Chinese

LD2101174094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1616 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jan—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on 21 January received a delegation from the Chinese People's Diplomatic Society. The Government Press Office told PAP that the talks concentrated on expectations connected with future mutual cooperation, economic partnership, and trade agreements.

Pawlak Comments on Cooperation, Economy

AU2201202794 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Jan 94 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak by Stanislaw Cwik and Dariusz Szymczycha; place and date not given: "Let Us Not Argue; Let Us Solve Problems"]

[Text] [TRYBUNA] You have come back from Prague. We did not expect anything momentous from that meeting. The Partnership for Peace [PFP] was supposed to be an anteroom to NATO, and it remains that way. Your idea of a Partnership for Development was received as a novelty. Do you see any obstacles to economic and scientific cooperation with Western countries?

[Pawlak] Poland's external security consists of a number of factors. One of the most important is economic and social stability. During the recent rather frequent visits of U.S. and EU [European Union] representatives in Poland, we said that, although the PFP may lead us toward NATO, it does not guarantee that we will join it. In a situation where there are so many obstacles to NATO entry, economic efficiency is becoming a major guarantee for our future.

That is why we are so worried about our unstable economic cooperation with the West. Despite guarantees stemming from accords and agreements, the West does not always treat us as an equal partner. That is the reason behind the Partnership for Development idea, especially economic development. This idea was proposed during the consultations that preceded the NATO summit. It found an echo in President Clinton's remark during the NATO summit about the need to open the U.S. and EU markets more widely to products from Central Europe.

[TRYBUNA] So the Partnership for Development could mean a new stage in economic development?

[Pawlak] Yes. The Uruguay round of talks ended in December. It brought new solutions regarding customs tariffs, but it also created confusion regarding nontariff issues. In fact, it created new restrictions to Polish trade on the U.S. and Western markets. How are we to overcome them? By standardizing our products and raising their quality. We can also follow the West's example and impose equalizing levies on the prices of some Polish exports and harsh hygienic requirements regarding certain Polish imports.

Such a solution may have a bearing on the development of Poland and the entire region.

[TRYBUNA] But there is nothing momentous about this. It is merely imitation.

[Pawlak] Yes, but it is imitation of momentous significance. No Polish government used such methods before.

We want a multifaceted partnership. Therefore we are trying to open up economic cooperation in all directions. Our businessmen must perform reconnaissance immediately and not leave it until our trade partners have failed us.

[TRYBUNA] So one can say that this is the beginning of the end of the Visegrad Group?

[Pawlak] During the prime ministerial talks in Prague, we considered a way of expanding the Visegrad formula and converting it from a political body into an economic one. Perhaps we need a G-4 group, concentrating on creating a free trade zone and relaxing trade conditions. During the Prague talks, we suggested a practical dimension to Visegrad cooperation.

[TRYBUNA] Prime Minister, can Poland be a partner in the Partnership for Development? Look at the state of Polish agriculture. It is not impressive. How do you intend to change Polish agriculture and drag it to its feet again?

[Pawlak] I do not share your harsh opinion on the subject of Polish agriculture. Polish agriculture's capabilities are underestimated.

If one looks at production organization and technology and the variety of goods, one will see that our agriculture could play a larger role in the economy that is the case at present. It can also make a greater contribution to international trade. These reserves have not been used until now because not all of the economic mechanisms have been adapted to our agriculture. We also discussed this in Prague.

Our agricultural production is often cheaper than in developed countries so we can enter world markets without additional costs—that is, without burdening the budget. An increase in agricultural exports is hampered not so much by market barriers as by administrative restrictions in the form of special fees whose only purpose is to bar our products to foreign markets.

Another problem of Polish agriculture is how to make use of excess produce. We are seeking ways of increasing the production of industrial raw materials, which might then be applied to other sectors of the economy.

[TRYBUNA] But, during the election campaign and even before it, the Polish Peasant Party accused the Solidarity governments of lacking an agricultural policy. If things were considered bad under Solidarity, why should they be considered good today?

[Pawlak] It is the possibilities that are good today, not the actual state of things. Apart from that, we spoke of the absence of not only an agricultural policy, but also an industrial and social one.

The Polish countryside has its specific nature. There are people who see only faults in it. But we also see positive features. After all, in some developed countries, there is now a departure from excessive concentration in urban planning, from shutting people up in concrete apartment blocks. The trend is now in favor of distributing the population more loosely. Modern science permits the location of very modern firms at a considerable distance from the capital.

So when people complain that the Polish countryside is overpopulated, we reply that rural inhabitants are self-sufficient and do not burden the budget. Is it not better to create employment for them where they live, rather than move them to urban areas? Which solution is more profitable and less costly in social terms?

We should not apply a doctrine that calls for a fixed rural population level. We must avail ourselves of any solution that opens up prospects. I think that is the way we should view the Polish countryside.

[TRYBUNA] You already have several months' experience as the prime minister of a coalition government. In the beginning, you said the government would last four years. Are you still so optimistic?

[Pawlak] Yes, I think we will survive.

[TRYBUNA] We are asking because there are already strikes, and there has been an announcement about demonstrations and a general strike.

[Pawlak] Indeed, we are not in for an easy time. We have drafted a budget that is dictated by the reality that we have inherited. We have also "ironed out" many matters. But the media enjoy concentrating on difficulties, especially on announced price hikes, quite forgetting that these difficulties and price hikes are the consequences of the activity of previous governments and that my government is trying to help those in the worst material situation. Generally, we have altered the philosophy behind wages policy in the public sector, and we are raising minimum pensions and offering incentives in the agricultural sector to those who are energetic and produce high-quality goods. The media somehow do not want to notice any of this.

I want to be properly understood. I do not complain if people indicate dangers, even if they exaggerate. But I would prefer it if they suggested solutions and new possibilities.

Of course, there may be protests and demonstrations, but we no longer have a situation where one single trade union determines our future. The population now determines its own future in elections. For example, if the present government and coalition are incapable of solving basic problems, they will lose the next elections. I am counting on an improvement to the situation by the time the next elections take place. This is not an easy task, but I am counting on a high level of commitment not by just state institutions but also by individuals—for example, those who lay down fiscal policy.

[TRYBUNA] Do you not regret the fact that you did not commence your tenure by exposing the state of the Polish economy you inherited and drawing up a report? Criticism of the government is frequently based on the remarks of Mrs. Suchocka and Messrs. Rokita and Syryjczyk.

[Pawlak] We did produce a report but only for our own internal purposes, and there is no need to reveal all of the features of the Polish economy to the public. But we did present many of these features when we drew up our budget—I did so in my 29 December speech and so did Deputy Prime Minister Borowski—but we were more concerned with convincing everyone that, despite all of these difficulties, it is possible to halt the negative phenomena and move forwards.

Perhaps we are not making satisfactory progress in every single sphere. There is no doubt that a social debate or tripartite pact between the government, employers, and employees would help explain the current situation and permit better prospects. I fear that the government might not be sufficiently energetic in this regard.

[TRYBUNA] The government's personnel policy is being criticized. What principles of personnel policy do you profess?

[Pawlak] I have the dubious honor of being criticized from various quarters. Some people criticize me for making any personnel changes whatsoever, and others do so because I tolerate the presence of officials whose views differ from the government's.

I think it is important to use the knowledge and experience of various people. That often provides good results. The important thing is to concentrate on tasks. Poland has lost too many people since the war. There are times when it is worth viewing personnel matters from a wider angle and not just from a political one.

As far as the administration is concerned, personnel changes there should come as no surprise. It is difficult to expect people to be loyal to a government they cannot stand. On the other hand, one cannot tolerate a situation where everyone pursues his own policy. That is why changes are necessary.

[TRYBUNA] How much independence do you have in the making of personnel decisions?

[Pawlak] This is a coalition government, which means that we try to seek a joint solution to issues regarding the functioning of the coalition. But certain personnel issues are my sole responsibility. That depends on the situation and the case at hand.

I can say that, despite the variety of situations, cooperation between the coalition partners has generally been good. Even if there are disputes, they provide conclusions. It does not matter if the media try to inflame moods and make it look as if there is a coalition crisis. If I were not in the government, I would enjoy reading such things myself. But the result of the 19 September election was clear inasmuch as it showed the coalition partners what the electorate wants. Therefore, we should concentrate on solving problems and not invent reasons to argue.

[TRYBUNA] So the coalition will last four years?

[Pawlak] That depends on the relationships between the coalition groups and on the situation within each group. I count on them to appreciate the opportunity that has arisen in Poland. Inside Poland we can decide on most issues to the advantage of everyone. Our predecessors tended to forget that the reforms are meant to serve the people and not to further the interests of a group of visionaries or idealists who want to reform the world but have forgotten who they are working for.

Committee Formation Surprises Walesa, Olechowski

WS2001144494 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by J.B.L. and P.W.R.: "Walesa and Olechowski Are Surprised"]

[Text] President Lech Walesa expressed his "surprise and lack of understanding" and the foreign affairs minister his "surprise and sorrow"—all this was in official communiques issued by their press spokesmen. The reason for these statements is the establishment by the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee of an extraordinary subcommittee, whose task is to evaluate the condition of the cadres in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ].

The subcommittee was set up through the votes of the deputies of the governing coalition and the Union of Labor party. Deputies of Democratic Union refused to take part in the subcommittee's work; the establishment of the subcommittee was criticized by the Deputies' Club of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms.

According to Olechowski, the decision establishing the subcommittee infringes upon the powers of the minister of foreign affairs. Also at a meeting with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy the minister expressed his sorrow at the fact that it had been set up.

There were rumors in the Sejm building that the entire subcommittee affair might lead to a conflict between the coalition and the Belweder. It was speculated that, if the coalition had received the post of a deputy minister in the MSZ, which it demanded, the subcommittee would probably not have been established. Tadeusz Iwinski, deputy of the Democratic Left Alliance, denied this information. He believes that the committee will help select the right people for the MSZ posts, such as the posts of ambassadors. He also said that, in recent years, many candidates without the right qualifications have been appointed to these posts.

Foreign Minister Sees No Immediate Threats

LD2101143094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1007 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jan—Speaking on Friday at the Sejm, Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski stated, among other things, that, in the short- and medium-term prospects, there are no threats to the territorial integrity of the Polish Republic. No country, no significant political power, no noteworthy politician has any claims against us.

The minister pointed out that treaty obligations on the inviolability of borders, the renouncement of claims, and the protection of minorities (the exception here is Lithuania, with whom we will sign a similar undertaking soon) are linking Poland to all of our neighbors. As of February, an agreement on the association with the European Union [EU] will come into force. Structures of the regional cooperation are developing, albeit slowly: the Visegrad Group, the Council of the Baltic States, the Central European Initiative [CEI]. The CSCE, where we distinguish ourselves with activity, has already borne fruit, with a significant collection of pan-European military and political obligations. "Poland is not alone; Poland has good relations with its neighbors; Poland is not threatened with war," Olechowski stated.

As far as the threats are concerned, in the minister's view, "There can be attempts to exert political and economic pressure, to weaken the feeling of security, threats to economic and civilization development as well as to the international position of Poland. We can find ourselves in the direct proximity of a reborn empire, which may make efforts to extend its sphere of influence also to Central Europe. The situation on the post-Soviet territory can rapidly be destabilized. Conditions for the trade exchange and economic cooperation may become worse. Nationalities' problems and rivalry may increase in this region. Our ecological security may, as a result of the course of events, be threatened."

While referring to the Brussels summit of NATO states and the meeting of presidents in Prague, the minister said that, as a result of both of these events, "Poland is more secure today than it was yesterday."

Olechowski underscored that the statement on opening NATO to new members from East Europe was the decision to which we attached the greatest importance. "This fundamental decision on opening the alliance, closed so far to new members, has been clearly favorable to Poland. It makes our future membership possible and increases the sense of purpose for actions in that direction.

"However, the decision is imperfect in two aspects: It defines neither a date for accepting new members nor the criteria they will have to meet; it conditions the acceptance of a new member not only to the degree of its readiness to join, but also to the assessment of European security as a whole. This gives rise to suspicions as to the significance of the possible opposition by Russia, although the statements clearly point out that 'no (third) country is to have a right to veto NATO's decisions on the issue.'"

According to Olechowski, the Partnership for Peace initiative has established a new form of cooperation with NATO. It also has a "significant political dimension as it is linked to the acceptance by participating states of important obligations to protect democracy in internal relations and to observe international law in external relations. It gives particular emphasis to the commitment to restrain from a threat of the use of force against territorial integrity and political independence of states and to respect existing borders and solve disputes by peaceful means.

"The states participating in the initiative will also confirm their commitment to observe CSCE principles and adopt obligations concerning disarmament and arms control. Furthermore, in the military sphere, the initiative obligates, among other things, the clarification of military planning and budget and the ensuring of civilian control over the Armed Forces. The countries that will not observe the above-mentioned principles will be subject to negative reactions by NATO."

According to the minister, this important political dimension of the initiative, for which Polish diplomacy was striving vigorously, "will improve the state of security on our continent, and, for that reason alone, it is favorable to us. However, the main benefits from the Partnership for Peace initiative are: First, it will ensure our closer cooperation with NATO than to date; second, it will bring us closer to membership in this institution (in accordance with the summit decisions, active participation in the program will be one of the criteria for new members); and third, it will improve the level of our security.

Referring to other decisions taken at the Brussels summit to which we attach significance, the minister said that Poland "consistently believes that the U.S. presence in Europe is necessary for the security of our continent. We recognize statements like 'nothing is more important for our (American) security than the relations with Europe,' as well as decisions to maintain the presence of 100,000 U.S. soldiers as unequivocally beneficial for us," he stated.

Olechowski pointed out that "Poland is interested in seeing the Western European Union [WEU], which is an institution for the military cooperation of the members of the EU, becoming more significant and effective. Achieving the status of an associated member, we have the right to make efforts to obtain the same status in all institutions created by the union. Then, with the progress of integration with the EU, we will be tightening our cooperation with the WEU until our full membership, which is linked to NATO membership. The WEU security guarantees are much more categorical than the NATO guarantees."

Pointing once again to the "clearly positive balance for Poland" of decisions made by NATO, the minister recalled that the Council of Ministers expressed on the 10th of this month "a will and a readiness for active participation in the implementation of programs linked to the Partnership for Peace scheme and to obligate the ministers of foreign affairs and national defense to prepare proposals for appropriate actions, including legal acts connected with Polish participation in its implementation. These actions should ensure that full advantage will be taken from the opportunities created by the scheme (...) to tighten the links between Poland and NATO and to increase the level of external security of the Polish state."

According to Olechowski, the Council of Ministers confirmed "that our strategic objective (...) was and has been Polish membership in the North Atlantic Alliance." He added that it seemed important that the Sejm also expressed a similar view. "If today we can say that, albeit to an insufficient degree, Poland after all managed to exert influence on the final shape of the NATO summit, then it all happened to a large extent thanks to the wide political support the president and our diplomacy enjoyed in the world. Such a consensus, this impressive support, are still needed in the difficult efforts to join NATO and the WEU. A lack of consensus makes these efforts worthless."

In the final part of his speech, the minister said: "An active policy of developing friendly relations with all of our neighbors, patient and consistent promotion of regional cooperation, a policy toward ethnic minorities that is in keeping with European standards, active participation in European initiatives, and economic initiatives such as the partnership for development scheme that was formulated by the prime minister are examples of other significant actions. Although the world around us is changing and proceeds in an unknown direction, and although we have only limited influence on the course of events, all of these actions result in the fact that we do not have enemies around us."

Foreign Ministry on Denuclearization of Ukraine

LD2101173794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1519 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jan—On 21 January, the Foreign Affairs Ministry issued the following statement to the Polish Press Agency:

"It is with great satisfaction and approval that the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Polish Republic heard of the signing on 14 January in Moscow of a three-sided agreement by the Presidents of the Russian Federation, the United States, and Ukraine.

President Leonid Kravchuk's decision regarding the denuclearization of Ukraine will have a beneficial influence on the security and the stability of the region, of Europe, and the world, despite the fact that this process is expected to take seven years.

The signing of the Moscow document opens the way to broader possibilities of cooperation between Ukraine and the Western world.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Polish Republic expresses the hope that the concluded agreement will be implemented very shortly."

Polish Consulate Opens in Kaliningrad

WS2401104894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22-23 Jan 94 p 21

[Article by Maja Narbutt from Kaliningrad: "Polish Consulate Opens in Kaliningrad"]

[Text] Yesterday a Polish consulate was officially opened in Kaliningrad. It is the first diplomatic post of this rank in the Kaliningrad Oblast; a German consulate is supposed to be opened there in a few months.

On the same day, Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Iwo Byczewski and Kaliningrad Oblast Mayor Yuri Matochkin signed a document on the establishment of a Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation Between Poland's North-Western Voivodships and the Kaliningrad Oblast. The council will start work in March.

The Kaliningrad Oblast, part of the Russian Federation located farthest west and the most militarized area in Europe, aspires to become a Russian Hong Kong. New prospects for Western investors arose in December of last year, when a decree by Russian President Boris Yeltsin exempted their goods from the customs duty. The decree also exempted them from paying taxes for four years.

Polish companies are most numerous as far as foreign capital enterprises in the oblast are concerned. However, German investors have invested the greatest amount of money there. According to Polish entrepreneurs working in Kaliningrad, the gap between German and Polish capital is steadily increasing.

SLD Cites Interest in Presidential Ministries

LD2201093394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], said that the coalition will continue its efforts to obtain deputy minister posts in three of the so-called presidential ministries: the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At a meeting with parliamentary reporters, Kwasniewski also said, regarding ratification of the Concordat, that when there are just two options—yes or no—the SLD will vote against it.

The SLD leader also let it be known that Social Democracy has given up on the concept of the direct election of village elders and town and city mayors in the forthcoming local government elections.

Dniester State of Emergency Decree Reported

AU1901142294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by correspondent Mircea Dascaliuc from Chisinau]

[Text] In accordance with a decree issued by Igor Smirnov, president of the self-proclaimed Dniester republic, a state of emergency has been declared in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova, starting today and to last until 1 March 1994, the Tiraspol correspondent of the Chisinau National Radio Network reports.

Under the pretext that the Republic of Moldova, after the introduction of its national currency, has instituted an economic blockade against Dniester and also invoking the need to regulate the circulation of their own currency and to balance the economy, this decree, among other things, prohibits the mass media from publishing material calling for the forcible overthrow of the current state and social structures or for their change, and bans mass demonstrations, which would bring about tension in the situation in the area.

Similarly, the decree calls on all local executives unconditionally to observe the legal norms regarding the state of emergency. Local observers believe that the goal of issuing this decree is to preserve by all means the current order created through force of arms and, at the same time, to stop the population from participating in the future early elections for the parliament of the Republic of Moldova. As a matter of fact, during its session yesterday, the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Dniester republic issued a special declaration that the organization of elections and election campaign propaganda are prohibited throughout the Dniester region.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes FRY-Croatian Accord

AU2101074294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomes the signing in Geneva of an understanding between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia on relations between the two countries.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry issued a communique in which it expresses the belief that the positive development registered in the relations between the two countries represents an important and encouraging moment which will make a substantial contribution and provide an impetus to the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina, reduce tension, and create conditions for a new consensus on coexistence in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

As a matter of fact, this moment is in line with the constant position promoted by Romania, which is to stimulate the process of normalizing relations between all countries that have emerged in the area of the former Yugoslavia and to hold talks between them.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry, reads the communique, expresses the hope that this process will continue and, thus, contribute to the promotion of political stability in this area and in the entire region.

Defense Minister Discusses 'Partnership' Plan

AU2101093194 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Jan 93 p 5

[Report by Adrian Ursu on statements by Romanian Defense Minister Niculae Spiroiu: "Romania and NATO Processes; Closer to the Atlantic or Closer to Siberia?"]

[Text] The NATO summit held on 8 and 9 January in Brussels aroused interest both among the members of the alliance as well as among the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Those countries are affected by the proposals of the Alliance made through the two documents (the invitation to cooperation and the basic document) that the aforementioned Alliance has adopted, through the "Partnership for Peace."

When the summit meeting was going through its official moments and cliches (starting with the group picture and ending with the publication of documents) we tried to examine this proposal and asked for the support and opinions of the Romanian defense minister, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu.

What is the meaning of the partnership for peace and what does it offer us?

"So far the partnership with NATO has taken place on the basis of the decision of the aforementioned alliance (since December 1991) in the form of a program with cooperation partners which included all the countries in Central and East Europe, that is, the former Warsaw Pact members, including the countries in the former USSR. We are talking here about a sort of collective partnership of the countries that participate in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). The partnership for peace represents a qualitatively superior stage, because we are no longer talking about collective relations but about bilateral relations between the Alliance and the countries for whom the partnership has been opened. Therefore, the partnership for peace implies certain amplified conditions compared with the form of cooperation that existed so far," said the Romanian defense minister. For the time being, concrete ways for this achievable military cooperation—which also depends on the offer that each approached country will make—could be the following: joint participation in operations aimed at peacekeeping or solving situations of crisis, joint military maneuvers, expansion of cooperation in the area of combat training, assistance granted for restructuring military bodies, and, maybe in the future, the procurement of military technology. Through

this form of cooperation, the opportunities of the Alliance to participate in peacekeeping operations for example, would expand considerably.

Thus, as far as Romania is concerned, once the political decision for cooperation, which ends with integration in NATO, has been taken by the presidency, parliament, and the Ministry of Foreign affairs (as General Spiroiu stresses), the only thing left for Bucharest will be to present to the leadership of the alliance an proposition for cooperation, at least as attractive as the ones presented by the other countries that desire this integration.

Does this partnership contribute to good neighborliness?

The insistence with which especially the countries included in the Visegrad group asked to be admitted to the Alliance as soon as possible, as well as the term of five years advanced more or less officially in Brussels as a period after which one could achieve the access, raises questions regarding conditions for admission. It is clear that NATO, as a body that aims to ensure its own security, is not tempted to incorporate sources of instability by accepting new members, no matter whether they are of an economic or of an ethnic nature. It is not very likely that the alliance would be used to resolve problems in the interests of one country or another.

"As far as the option of admitting new members is concerned, NATO will take into account the relations with their neighbors of those countries that it is going to admit. The alliance is certainly not willing to burden itself with problems of this nature, by accepting members that have problems. It is very likely that access will be granted to those countries that have no such problems" stressed the minister of defense.

Therefore, the Brussels documents require—and analysts consider it absolutely necessary—that a country that wishes to be admitted to NATO should offer a number of guarantees: to have a solid and viable economic basis, to present a convincing democratic process, to solve all their problems regarding ethnic minorities, to be ready to grant information regarding the budget and defense system, and last but not least, to subordinate the army to civilian society.

Is Romania Prepared for Such a Step?

The reform of the Romanian Army and of the Ministry of Defense is a process desired by the country and to a great extent it has taken concrete shape. The process takes into account the need for the country's defense, the concluded military accords, and aims at achieving a structural compatibility with the Western military bodies, whose organization formula has already proven its viability. The access of civilians to the structures of the ministry up to the leadership body has already been implemented.

"The legislative framework has been worked out and, on the one hand it is in line with the standards of the legal bodies in the countries with a democratic tradition, and on the other hand, it is in accordance with the agreements concluded by Romania after the [1989] revolution. We have already elaborated the concept regarding the strategy of national security and the national military doctrine, following the same criteria."

"The reform process that we have started at the Ministry of National Defense is aimed at achieving a military organization similar to the structures in the West, especially in the countries that are members of the NATO and the Western European Union, because the structures that we want to achieve are acceptable both to NATO and Western European Union. We have taken action in the field of training programs, we have officers who are being trained in France, Britain, the United States, and Germany and we also made positive steps in the area of training methods. We carried out joint drills, especially in the Navy with the U.S. Navy, and the naval forces of Britain, France, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece. Although in the beginning the drills were of a smaller scale, they proved the compatibility of our soldiers' training with the training of soldiers in Western countries. The fact that we have credibility also proves the access to training programs such as IMET [expansion unknown] approved also by the U.S. Congress. The most difficult part is the army's equipment because of the economic recession. One might say that if we had money, this goal would be the easiest to achieve. In this respect we acted according to priorities, mainly because, in comparison with other armies of the former Warsaw Pact, our army's technological equipment was of Western origin. In our army, in case of every type of military vehicle (armored carriers and tanks) we have Western equipment. In the field of aviation we have Aero-Spatiale Turbomeca and Rolls Royce licenses. We are a little bit ahead of other countries.

In addition to this, we have already participated in peacekeeping operations in Somalia even on our own account. Currently, we are preparing the first Romanian battalion of "blue berets." I am optimistic in our possibility to align with criteria of the system proposed by the Brussels summit."

These are the preparations carried out by the Romanian Army to respond to the requirements of partnership, the way they have been presented by the minister of national defense.

What Would the Selective Access to the Structures of the Alliance Mean? "One or two years ago, the countries in the Visegrad group generated a competition as far as access to NATO is concerned. In this respect, there are two things we consider important: the first is that access of the countries in the region to the security structures, including NATO, should be carried out in such a way as to ensure equal security for all, without discrimination and without new frontiers. Thus, different levels of acceptance and discriminatory treatment would avoid new feelings of isolation, marginalization, distrust, and suspicion in this region. Second: any discrimination would belittle the standard required by this partnership for peace, even if this does not pleases the countries included in the Visegrad group. The partnership for peace is above any discrimination. In addition, it is important that access to security structures should not appear as an action aimed against Russia. It is important that Russia should not

be pushed aside from these structures and that it should be assisted in this process of democratization of political life as well as in the military area. The NATO in which we wish to be integrated is not the same NATO that existed at the time of the cold war but an organization that has proved its ability to develop a new aspect of its activities, namely to support democratic processes and the democratic transition of military bodies" said General Spiroiu.

If the Alliance offered guarantees of security to the four countries that belong to the Visegrad group, it would put Romania in a position not to be able to plead its cause directly within this structure. For the time being, however, it appears that no decision has been taken regarding access—selective or not—to NATO structures. Romania's geostrategic position, its demographic and economic potential, its control over the mouth of the Danube, and thus over a waterway that will become extremely important in the future, that is, the Rhine-Main-Danube canal, the connection that it can ensure Romania with the Southeast "region" of NATO [Greece and Turkey) and with the Middle East, all these elements make our country interesting and important. But not only for NATO.

Foreign Minister Previews 1994 Opportunities

AU2101203894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] During our radio program today entitled "Live Contact With Our Listeners," Teodor Melescanu, state and foreign affairs minister, answered a number of questions regarding the foreseeable chances for Romania's international policy in 1994.

Commenting on our security, which is ensured by the Partnership for Peace plan, the head of Romanian diplomacy said that the guarantees offered by that initiative, combined with the international bodies that Romania is gradually joining, as well as the opening up of our society for investments from West Europe and other regions, will result in the establishment of a network of contacts and solidarity that is necessary so that political and security promises do not remain merely promises.

One of the principal changes that occurred in our diplomacy after December 1989, Melescanu said, is that our foreign policy no longer follows the political color of our partners; therefore, our relations with various countries are based on a principle that is totally separated from ideology. The PRC represents one of our most important partners, both economically and on the level of dialogue maintained with Chinese officials. China is one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and a country that could offer essential help to Romania at any time, which is something we never forget, Romania's foreign affairs minister said.

For Romania's diplomacy, we hope that 1994 will be the year of Asia—that is, a year in which our relations with Asian countries are developed extensively.

Regarding the annulling of the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact [concluded in 1940, when Romania lost Bessarabia and Bucovina to the Soviet Union], Romania has made and is making sustained efforts so that the juridical effects and the territorial consequences for the Romanian population should be annulled. It is just a matter of time, Melescanu said, since the problem will be solved as democracy develops in our country and in other neighboring countries, and a European system will be established based on the fundamental values of democracy and legality.

During the program, the head of Romanian diplomacy also referred to the efforts being made to recover the Romanian treasure from the Russians, one of the main issues tackled during negotiations with the Russian Federation. Melescanu pointed out that the Russian authorities officially admitted that the Romanian state treasure had been transferred to Russia. Negotiations are currently under way to clear up the status of the treasure. A Russian delegation will arrive in Bucharest next month to hold talks and appraise the treasure.

Paper Views Caritas Issue, Gypsy Threats

AU1901210194 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Jan 94 p 16

[Virgil Lazar report: "The Gypsies Threaten Reprisals"]

[Text] The Cluj city branch of the Caritas money-multiplying society [Ponzi scheme] has again moved its headquarters to the building of the Mining Institute situated on Tudor Vladimirescu street in the village of Baciu. According to the rumors, the headquarters was moved hastily to that building on the outskirts of Cluj because of the danger of a conflict with ethnic Gypsies who have invested money in the scheme but have not been paid their dues on time. A few days ago a group of Gypsies, who had driven all the way from Suceava, caused a disturbance in the center of Cluj, where the Caritas headquarters had temporarily moved to, namely in the building of the daily MESAGERUL TRANSILVAN, a paper that advertises Caritas and publishes its notices and lists of winners.

Furthermore, the same sources within Caritas have disclosed that last week the leader of the ethnic Gypsies, Emperor Iulian of Sibiu, had personally come to Cluj to talk to Gheorghe Stoica [founder and owner of Caritas]. Unable to meet Stoica, Iulian became infuriated and threatened to return later to Caritas at the head of an army of 30,000 Gypsies if Stoica does not make the payments that he has pledged.

Meanwhile in Cluj, certain supporters of Caritas have been circulating all kinds of rumors, even by means of the local newspapers, claiming that all the participants in the scheme will experience a miracle. That lie was so exaggerated that Mr. Stoica himself felt compelled to issue a communique in MESAGERUL TRANSILVAN, saying that solely the news published by that paper may be considered accurate. That is, he indirectly rejected the

rumors that had been circulated by the Pro Caritas Foundation with the purpose of tempering the anger of the deceived participants in the scheme.

Apart from this, the lists of the winners have become rather short. Currently they are paying out the winnings of investors whose names begin with the letters P and R, and who paid in their money on 5 July. Meanwhile the selling of Caritas slips continues in Cluj, as many investors believe that there are a sufficient number of people naive enough to pay cash for winnings that are uncertain. Here are some examples selected from the MESAGERUL TRANSILVAN: "Offer: 50 Cluj Caritas receipts dated 11 and 19 July in exchange for a bachelor flat." Or: "Will exchange 500 Caritas receipts dated September for a one- to three-bedroom apartment or individual house," and so on. And finally, here is a question that is typical of how Caritas makes its payments: "We ask the leadership of Caritas to clear up how they intend to pay the winnings of the investors who paid in their money on 3 July and who have been skipped over during recent payments." That is a good question: What happens to all those who have been skipped over, even though their payments are long overdue?!

Britain, France Considering Pulling Out Troops

AU2101182394 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Excerpts] London, Jan 21 (AFP)—Britain and France said Friday [21 January] that the option of pulling all United Nations troops out of Bosnia-Herzegovina, possibly as early as this spring, was being given serious consideration. [passage omitted]

In other developments Friday, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic hailed an agreement signed Tuesday between Belgrade and Zagreb to normalize their relations, saying it could be a turning point in the peace process.

Speaking after returning from Geneva, he said that the agreement "could serve as a solid base for re-establishing peace."

"We are ready to take part in a peace process on a new basis of mutual recognition of former Yugoslav republics which have already been internationally recognized," he said.

In Bosnia itself the situation was calm on most fronts for a second successive day, according to officials. UN Protection Force spokesman Bill Aikman said Thursday had been the calmest day for months.

However Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said that Bosnian Moslems were preparing to attack Serb positions across Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He made the comments in a letter to Greek officials who had invited him to Athens Friday. He cancelled the trip at the last minute because of what he called the "new difficulties."

"A vast Moslem attack on all our positions is being prepared... I must work at the same time for peace and work to defend my country," he said, excusing himself from the Athens trip.

Butrus-Ghali Opposes Pullout

AU2101191094 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Excerpt] London, January 21 (AFP)—In The Hague late Friday [21 January] UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said he hoped London and Paris would not withdraw their troops.

"If they will withdraw their troops, I will have to find other member states who will be ready to replace them," he said.

"The role of the UN is to maintain peace, is to contain a dispute, to try to find a peaceful settlement to the dispute. If you just say they can continue to kill each other, I will say that this is an abdication," Butrus-Ghali said.

He also expressed confidence in EC mediator Lord Owen, whose replacement was demanded Thursday by the European parliament, and UN representative Stoltenberg.

"I have no criticism, on the contrary. I want to thank them for the wonderful work they're doing. It needs a lot of patience, of perseverance. I support them and express them my gratitude," he said. [passage omitted]

Britain's Hurd Addresses Troops in Vitez

LD2201171294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said on Saturday that Western allies faced a hard choice of whether to stay on in Bosnia or pull their troops out.

The decision to go or stay would have to be made, but not in the immediate future, REUTERS quotes him as saying in the central Bosnian town of Vitez. "It will have to be a very substantial weighing up process."

Western allies face a tough decision whether to stay in Bosnia saving lives and getting aid through, or to pull out, leaving a risk of greater savagery, said Hurd after inspecting the British troops near Vitez.

Presidency Member Urges Clinton To Bomb Serbs

LD2301122994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] In connection with yesterday's massacre of six Sarajevo children in the Ali-Pasino Polje district, Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has sent a letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton.

The letter reads: Yesterday afternoon shells fired from Serb positions killed six children playing in the snow in front of their houses in Sarajevo. Several other children were seriously wounded, and doctors are still fighting for their lives. Horror of this kind has been going on for 22 months in the besieged Sarajevo. Mr. President, is there an effective way to realize finally your proposal on lifting the arms embargo against our country and on the bombing of Serb positions around Sarajevo? You said that you would not tolerate the strangulation of Sarajevo. Let us hope that your country will not allow the international community's stand on Bosnia-Herzegovina to continue being influenced by countries that tolerate genocide and reward aggression.

This is said in Ejup Ganic's letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Muslim Leader Pleads For Islamic Aid

LD2301202094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Following the massacre of children in Sarajevo yesterday Mustafa Efendija Ceric, Reis Ullema of the Islamic community in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent a letter to Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic revolution in Iran; the great imam (Jaz al-Haq Shayk al-Asad); Mehmet Nuri Yilmaz, Reis Ullema of the Islamic Community of the Republic of Turkey; and Ahmad Muhammad Ali, the newly elected secretary general of the Islamic World League.

The letter says: After our fraternal and friendly visit and the hospitality you granted us, the delegation of the [Bosnian] Islamic Community returned to Sarajevo hoping for peace and an end to the tragedy of the Bosnian people. Unfortunately, we found only blood and tears in Sarajevo: the blood of innocent civilians killed by the aggressor's shells and tears of thousands of bereaved mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters who are the victims of evil crimes of the kind the world has not yet experienced. [passage omitted]

We are not addressing Butrus-Ghali or the European and other unions, for they all remain deaf to all our appeals, to the screams of innocent people, women and children, coming both from the concentration camp in Sarajevo and from farther afield in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are not appealing to their consciences any more, to their alleged democratic principles and human rights, for we have deeply understood that they only deceive the weak ones and lie to them.

We are informing you as our brothers about the aggressors killing innocent children on snow slopes, in front of Europe and the world, who are just watching it calmly because the victims are Bosnian Muslims, who they [Europe and the world] denied the right to self-defense.

We are informing you about how we die every day in the most awful ways, and demand that you do something, for everyone else has betrayed us and abandoned us. We plead with you to come here, to visit us while we are still alive, the letter says.

Karadzic Says Agreement 'De-vilified' Serbia

AU2201201794 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] President of the Srpska republic Dr. Radovan Karadzic visited Vrbas today. On this occasion he informed his hosts of the current political situation in the Srpska republic. Here is a dispatch by Novi Sad Television:

[Begin recording] [Reporter Mileva Tomic] The present moment in the resolution of the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is being marked by a unique absurdity, namely, by the Muslim side rejecting the realization of its own proposal, President of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic emphasized when he was explaining the stance of the Serbian delegation at the peace talks.

[Karadzic] Now we will probably revoke all these proposals. In our pocket we have a new platform [word indistinct] for a modus vivendi in (?which we shall depart from the factual situation). The factual situation is the borders of the Srpska republic. They can only be changed through agreement. The one who attacks us should receive a fitting reply in accordance with the rules of international military law. This is one of the possibilities by which we might recall everything that the Muslims have gained from us as a sort of concessions.

[Tomic] Speaking of the long-term goals of the Serbian people on the territory of former Yugoslavia, Radovan Karadzic singled out the need for unity and responsible analysis of joint interests as the only way of their realization.

[Karadzic] I must say that it has always been a great concern of ours and that, regardless of what we do, we also think of the Serbian Krajina. [Serbian President] Milosevic, myself, and my delegation (?have concluded) that it would be the best to accept the opening of a bureau of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade, as this would in no way impair Krajina's interests, because the bureau of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the bureau of the Srpska republic already exist in Belgrade. With the bureau of the Republic of Croatia, Croatia is now being brought to a completely equal footing with Krajina and the Srpska republic; therefore, it did not get any more than the Serbian Krajina got.

The other thing that we have achieved is that Croatia's drawing nearer to the Serbs has de-vilified Serbia. Serbia is no longer an aggressor, a demon, and so forth, and here we have benefited much more than [Croatian President] Tudjman.

[Tomic] The Srpska republic is a real country, Karadzic said, disorganized as much as any other country in conditions of war, but with a clear goal and generally acceptable methods for the creation of a free and democratic community of the Serbian people. [end recording]

Briquemont Views Situation Prior to Departure

LD2301212494 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 23 Jan 94

["Exclusive" interview with Belgian General Francis Briquemont, departing UN Protection Forces commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by an unidentified correspondent in an ice rink in Sarajevo on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] British General Michael Rose is to take over tomorrow from Belgian [General] Francis Briquemont, the head of UNPROFOR [UN Protection

Forces], who is not hiding his bitterness and his misgivings as he leaves Sarajevo. An exclusive interview with our special correspondents Jean-Jacques Le Garrec and Cyrille Pecheric:

[Correspondent] A medal presentation ceremony on an ice rink built for the Olympics. But this morning General Briquement is a man overwhelmed, like the whole town, by the murderous madness that just yesterday wiped out six children playing in the snow of Sarajevo.

[Briquemont] I have spent hours and hours explaining to the belligerents, and especially to the Serbs, that this shelling of the town is militarily useless, that it is always a human tragedy, and that really as far as international politics is concerned it certainly does not improve their image abroad.

[Correspondent] Have you yourself also felt humiliated during your stay here?

[Briquemont] Yes, certainly. I can tell you that when you have...[pauses] Well, after all I am commander (?in chief); when you are a lieutenant general, and when you are stopped at checkpoints by men of 18 or 20, who are drunk, and they point their guns at you, and you have to wait 30-35 minutes there and do not know why, well, you feel humiliated.

But I know that all the NCO's [noncommissioned officers], all the young officers who pass (?these checkpoints) suffer this every day too, and I think this is why General Cot made his statement on 1 January. I was there next to him, and I share [his feelings] entirely.

[Correspondent] And how do you respond, or what do you think of the decisions to keep removing the generals who end up opening their mouths, if I may use the expression?

[Briquemont] You know, in my life I have always said what I think. I have not stopped doing so as a lieutenant general. Perhaps it is true that some politicians, and perhaps some highly placed officials in major organizations, do not like us saying what we think. But I think that in the UN operations we have got to the point where it is no longer the case that we have a right to speak, but a duty, because I think we must say what is wrong; because it is impossible to continue in these conditions.

[Correspondent] Do you have one word to leave with the people, the people of Sarajevo?

[Briquemont] It is true that as I leave Sarajevo I feel something of a Sarajevan. I think that if there is a gulf between the UN Security Council resolutions and the means we have to put them into effect, I think there is a gulf between all the political leaders and public opinion, because I think the people only want one thing, peace, and for the fighting to stop. Let the fighting stop first, and perhaps we shall hold discussions afterward, but let the fighting stop. It is a completely useless war, and one that I find quite stupid.

Krajisnik: Serbs Offer Unilateral Cease-Fire

LD2301152494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Kragujevac, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic assembly, told Radio Kragujevac today that, in its constant efforts to restore peace, the Serb side would offer a so-called modus vivendi to the Croat and Muslim sides.

Explaining what that means during the "Hallmark of Time" program, Krajisnik said: "We bind ourselves not to take any military action—not even to respond to provocations, although that is very difficult—until 10 February. The world should see once again who is for war and who is for peace."

"We suggest that all front lines be frozen, all military activities halted, and relations be normalized. We are ready—which is yet another sacrifice on our part—to discuss all issues, including those that are completely clear and do not cause any problems for us. This is because it is very important to restore peace and, by lifting the sanctions, to return to life as it was before the war, although the victims cannot be brought to life," Krajisnik said. [passage omitted]

Welcomes Russian Sanctions Decision

LD2201184394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—We welcome the decision of the Duma, the lower House of the Russian parliament, which is demanding that Boris Yeltsin lodge an official request with the UN Security Council that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be lifted, said Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the assembly of the Srpska republic, to TANJUG correspondent Mladen Krsmanovic today.

"This will have far-reaching consequences, because it is clear now that it is the Muslim side which does not want peace. The formal justification for the sanctions was the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thus, the sanctions can no longer remain in place, because the Serb side has demonstrated the maximum degree of cooperation and its wish to achieve peace," Krajisnik stressed. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Protests to UN Chief Over Killings

LD2201224794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Excerpts] In connection with today's criminal chetnik massacre of Sarajevo children, Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter of protest to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, which says:

At the moment when the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commanders for Bosnia-Herzegovina were changing over at Sarajevo airport, and on a day said here

to be relatively quiet, shells were fired from Serb aggressor positions at flats in Alipasino Polje [western Sarajevo] where six children were killed, and doctors are fighting for the lives of another five. The oldest casualty was born in 1981. At the time of this massacre General Briquemont was handing over to General Michael Rose. [passage omitted]

The children who were killed, Mr. Butrus-Ghali, were playing in a protected zone, in Klara Cetkin Street, just 200 meters from the main UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo. The Serb aggressor welcomed the changeover of UNPROFOR commanders for Bosnia-Herzegovina in a most serious way today—by killing children. What else should happen in Sarajevo before you set in motion mechanisms that would lead to the realization of UN resolutions? We request that, in keeping with the relevant UN resolutions and NATO conclusions, you request that the aggressor's positions around Sarajevo be bombarded, the letter from Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic says.

A letter with the same content was also sent to Karolos Papoulias, the president of the European Union Council of Ministers, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, and Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the cochairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Serb General Denies Serbs Killed Children

LD2301203694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2012 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army General Milan Gvero on Sunday categorically denied that Bosnian Serbs had had anything to do with the massacre of six children in Sarajevo's locality of Alipasino Polje on Saturday and blamed the outrage on the Moslem leadership.

"After checking out with all of our units, I positively state that no shell whatsoever has been fired for days from our positions on the broader area of Alipasino Polje," Gvero told TANJUG.

"Judging by reports in the Moslem media and the media which indiscriminately pick up such reports, the Moslem propaganda machinery has again staged another anti-Serb performance," he said.

Moslem reports say that the shell fired on Alipasino Polje on Saturday killed six children and one Moslem soldier but "give no names of the victims, which may be significant," said Gvero.

"If the incident actually took place, and I very much fear that it did, then it was nothing but a repetition of the breadline massacre in Sarajevo's Vaso Miskin Street in 1992 when Moslem criminals and warmongers murdered 16 innocent civilians," he said.

The speed with which Moslem Premier Haris Silajdzic urged Butrus-Ghali to approve air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions is indicative of this scenario, said Gvero.

"The Moslem propaganda machine has deliberately disregarded the opinion of U.N. officials that the perpetrators of the incident could not be established, and has been quick to tell the world that the deadly shell had come from Serb-held nedzarici."

"We are sure that the world has woken up to the transparent set-ups of the Moslem war propaganda," said Gvero.

"This time we have every right to expect the world to condemn the Moslem leadership for its evidently stage-managed attack on its own citizens, who were children in this case which makes matters worse, and who were sacrificed to the higher interests of war."

"We expect protests and condemnation to come also from the Moslem people who are being made the collective victim of the blind irrationality of their religious leaders," said Gvero.

Serb Reconnaissance Units Active on Brcko Front

AU2401095194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 24 January carries in its regular five-minute newscast four reports on the fighting in the republic.

Maglaj correspondent Hajrudin Sermic reports that "although the attacks of the Chetnik and Ustasha forces have entered their fifth day, we can already say that their offensive is a total fiasco. Great losses in their ranks have taken their toll, although this morning they are perpetrating combined tank-infantry attacks on the southern sector of the front, on the entire stretch from Bradici to Nekolje. The fighting is fierce, but the knights of the 201st Maglaj [Brigade] are holding their own. The aggressor army is taking out its rage on the civilian population. Howitzer shells of all caliber, mortar and tank shells are raining down on Maglaj. Four people, two of them children, have been wounded in the past 24 hours. The material damage is also great."

An unidentified correspondent from the 4th Corps information service says that "in the past 24 hours, the free part of Mostar Commune has been the site of the fiercest shelling registered in the past month. The Ustasha [words indistinct] criminal policy with large caliber shells, and destroyed the densely populated residential areas. They fired over 160 howitzer, tank, and mortar shells at the parts of Mostar controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps. The Ustasha artillery targeted the Mostar districts of (?Zelic), (?Padina), (?Pazoric), and (?Ceric), while the enemy used antiaircraft weapons and snipers against the southern parts of the city. There was no peace on the northern part of the Mostar Commune. The Ustashas fired around 40 shells

from all types of artillery weapons at this region. Potoci, (?Krivac), and [name indistinct] were targeted. In the south of the Mostar Commune, 15 120-mm mortar shells were fired at Blagaj, while five 120-mm mortar shells landed on Svacici. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reconnaissance units have discovered that the Ustasha forces are again using captured civilians to dig trenches and reinforce their positions. The demarcation lines in the 4th Corps operational zone are strong and stable."

Brcko correspondent Hamid Deronjic reports that "strong Chetnik forces continue to regroup on the Brcko front. Concentrations and movements of enemy tanks were again sighted last night on the central part of the front, just outside Donja Brka. Four truckloads of manpower have arrived in the same area. Movements of the enemy's armored vehicles have also been sighted in the areas of Sumari and Delina Ravna. Overnight, the enemy has been using chain saws to clear the undergrowth and make room for his tanks. The enemy's reconnaissance groups were intensely active last night in the areas of Cadjavci and Omerbegovaca."

The studio announcer cites a report by the 4th Motorized Brigade information service and says that "there is some sporadic artillery fire on the Ilidza front, while Hrasnica, Sokolovici, [name indistinct], and Butmir are the scene of small arms' provocations."

Srpska Army Says Muslims Preparing Offensive

AU2301153694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] The information service of the Srpska army has informed the public that, quote, the Muslim forces are preparing an attack on the Srpska republic from the direction of Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac. This has been reported by the SRNA news agency.

It is also pointed out that the UN Protection Force is obliged to prevent this and other combat activities by the Muslim units from the above-mentioned enclaves.

Nevertheless, if the Muslims do carry out an attack, the Srpska army informs the domestic and international public that it will attack the Muslim enclaves from which combat activities will be exhibited, is written in a statement carried by the SRNA news agency.

Muslims Attacking Serbs on 'Many Fronts'

LD2201223694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 22 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—Moslem artillery and infantry are on Saturday attacking all Serb localities in Sarajevo in civil war wracked Bosnia-Herzegovina, TANJUG learns from Bosnian Serb Army sources. The Moslem formations appear to be trying, without success, to provoke a major conflict and blame it on the Serbs, the sources believe.

Moslems are attacking on many fronts throughout that former Yugoslav republic, TANJUG learns from the Bosnian Serb Army. Moslems are keeping under steady small arms and mortar fire the Serb localities and positions in the area of Doboj in the north, specifically at Gradacac and on Mts. Ozren and Vlasic.

Moslem assaults are continuing also in the east, in the area of Gorazde and along the Drina River which forms the boundary with Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro). Moslem artillery and infantry have intensified operations against Foca in the southeast and against Serb defence lines from the directions of Olovo, Kladanj and Kalesija in central Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb Army sources say that the latest Moslem operations are an effort to link up the Moslem enclaves in Bosnia and enlarge the territory under Moslem control preparatory to linking up with Serbia's region of Raska (Sanjak), where half the population is Moslem, and then with the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija, where ethnic Albanians are the majority population.

Muslim Army Advances in East

LD2301193394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Bosnian Army soldiers have achieved new successes on the Teocak front [eastern Bosnia]. Second Corps units have captured the Greben elevation. Many chetniks were killed in the operation and the bodies of eight of them were seized by our soldiers. A considerable amount of military equipment was also captured.

The chetniks have continued their offensive on the Maglaj front in the zone of responsibility of the Seven-South Operational Group [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]. The size of the chetnik losses at this front is illustrated by the fact that yesterday our soldiers killed 70 and seriously or lightly wounded dozens of chetniks. [passage omitted]

Chetnik tank shells fired from Mount Majevica have killed four and wounded nine people in Tuzla. [passage omitted]

Muslims Reportedly Massacre Croats Near Vitez

LD2101142094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 21 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 21 (TANJUG)—Muslim troops have massacred 11 Croats in a village near Vitez in central Bosnia, where a Muslim offensive continues, Zagreb-based Croatian radio said on Friday.

Bosnian Croat troops (HVO) on Thursday afternoon recaptured a part of the Buhino Selo village near Vitez,

taken by Muslims in the latest offensive, and found the bodies of 11 Croats, among them of massacred civilians whose hands were tied, Croatian radio said.

Muslim troops have undertaken a new mobilization in Zenica since they plan to launch a new offensive, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Friday.

The special instructions issued for the mobilization insist that as many as possible non-Muslims be mobilized, especially Croats, but specifies that their number in units of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina must not exceed five percent so that the Muslim character of the units would be preserved.

According to Bosnian Serb military sources, Vitez and Novi Travnik will be the targets of the Muslim offensive.

The steel plant in Zenica, a Muslim-held town in central Bosnia, has stepped up the production of mortars and artillery ammunition. The capturing of Vitez is vital for the Muslim side because of the very large quantities of explosives stored there and because it would mean the elimination of the last obstacle standing in the way of the Muslim side's full political and military domination in central Bosnia.

It is said that the local bank in Zenica has received 10 million German marks from abroad for military purchases. The Muslim side is now seeking a channel for making the purchases and securing their delivery.

Muslim forces in central Bosnia have been staging attacks on Croat positions around Novi Travnik, east of Travnik, and in the western section of the front, at Zepca, according to Croatian radio.

According to Bosnian Serb military sources, fighting between Croats and Muslims continues also in the River Neretva Valley and the southern zone of Mostar.

In the past 24 hours, Muslim forces continued attacking Bosnian Serb positions at Doboj, a town in northern Bosnia, on the front north-east of Teslic, in the area of Maglaj, on Mounts Ozren and Vlasic, also in northern Bosnia, along the upper and central parts of the River Drina in eastern Bosnia, in the area of Foca and the area of Cajnice, also in eastern Bosnia, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Friday.

The movements of smaller infantry and reconnaissance Muslim groups, which have been trying to infiltrate the Bosnian Serb ranks, have been observed in eastern Bosnia.

5th Corps Rejects Offer of 'Buffer Zones'

AU2101151294

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 21 January carries in its regular 26-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

Reporting on the situation in Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "over 800 shells have so far today landed on the civilian targets and the defensive positions. Civilian casualties have been reported. The fighters of the 201st Maglaj Brigade are heroically defending the free territory. Heavy losses have been inflicted on the united aggressor [the Serbs and the HVO], but they do not seem to have had enough as their futile attacks are still under way now."

Mirudin Aldobasic reports from the operational zone of the 7th South Operative Group that "since this morning the [Serb] enemy on the Doboj front has been shelling Matuzici, Mravici, Alibegovci, and (Maslinovac). (Omanjska), (Sivsa), (Paradaglije), and Kalosevic on the Tesanj front have also come under enemy artillery fire." The report says that "since this morning the Mt. Ozren Chetniks from their well-known positions have been shelling Lijesnica, (Mekolj), (Omezina), and (?Polje Plane)."

In his report from Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "it is relatively quiet here today, but there has been some sporadic small arms fire along the front line with the paraformations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy." He cites the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps Command as saying that "it has rejected outright the proposal by the other side on establishing demarcation lines and some kind of buffer zones. That is unacceptable for two reasons, the 5th Corps statement says. First, this is an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and second, no lines or buffer zones can divide our people."

The studio announcer says that Sarajevo was "relatively quiet this morning."

Croats Report Attack on Zepce; Over 30 Killed

LD2301191294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Excerpts] It was dramatic on the Zepce front this Sunday. [passage omitted]

Over 1,000 highly destructive shells were fired today from tanks, 105-mm and 122-mm howitzers, and mortars deep into the [Croat-held] territory and on HVO [Croatian Defense Council] positions, and hundreds of explosive devices were also launched. [passage omitted]

Reliable reports say that 30 jihad warriors [as heard] were killed and seven were captured. Three members of the 111th Brigade and professional Andrija Tadic Brigade [both HVO] were killed and 12 were seriously and lightly wounded. Four civilians died and five were seriously wounded in the treacherous bombardment [as heard].

Due to the heavy fighting and influx of the wounded the situation is dramatic in Zepce hospital. People are dying in the corridors and on stretchers, because Zepce has not had surgeons, oxygen, and other necessary resources for months.

Four Children Killed in Mostar Shelling

LD2301172294 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] More than 100 120-mm mortar shells landed on the free [Croat-held] part of Mostar this afternoon. Four children were killed by the shells: Damir Rizvan, Armin Rizvan, Emanuela Meskic, and Emil Meskic. Four children and four adults were wounded, the command of the Mostar operational zone has reported.

Boban Demands Humanitarian Aid for Croats

LD2301174194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] In a letter to UNHCR Sadako Ogata, Mate Boban demands urgent deliveries of humanitarian aid to central Bosnia, which has been surrounded by the Muslim army for 10 months and where a Muslim offensive against the Croat enclaves is under way.

The humanitarian situation in the area is a cause for concern, Boban says in his letter to the UN high commissioner, and adds that almost 100,000 people are facing death by starvation. Boban informs Sadako Ogata that in the past 50 days each inhabitant of the besieged Croat area in cental Bosnia has received less than 4 kg of food. Mate Boban goes on to accuse the UNHCR of not delivering humanitarian aid to the besieged central Bosnia populated by the Croats, since the Muslim attacks in the area have made the Vitez-Busovaca road impassable, and the UNHCR has kept silent about this. Boban also says that the UNHCR is resuming aid deliveries to Zenica, and that the largest part of the aid is taken by the Muslim army. Despite the promises given by the UNHCR regarding this, nothing has changed, Boban says, and adds that the humanitarian aid is used by the Muslim army to continue the war.

Martic, Babic Win 'Numerous Votes' in Election

AU2301213594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Report by Miladin Manojlovic from Beli Manastir]

[Text] The second round of elections for president of the republic of Serbian Krajina in Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem passed in perfect order. The response in the five electoral units was massive, regardless of the fact that no invitations were issued on this occasion and that the weather was bad. More than 60 percent of the voters have voted in this part of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

The electoral commissions are still sorting the data and it is not certain yet which of the two candidates for president—Milan Martic or Milan Babic—has won the trust of the voters.

We have learned that it is definite that both candidates won numerous votes and that the victory of one or another will be very narrow. The president of the republic of Serbian Krajina will be the candidate who wins the majority of votes. The first unofficial results will be known tomorrow.

Prime Minister on Prospects for Herceg-Bosna

AU2001120694 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 94 pp 4-5

[Interview with Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, by Josko Dadic; place and date not given: "If Bosnia-Herzegovina Falls, We Will Join Croatia!"]

[Text] [Dadic] Let us begin with the most topical issue—the situation in the valley of the Lasva, i.e. central Bosnia. How does one intend to help the Croats in besieged enclaves in central Bosnia or are they simply sentenced to death?

[Prlic] One thing is for sure—we help those enclaves and will keep helping them as much as we can. I cannot reveal details on how we intend to help them survive, for everything depends on the outcome of present Croat-Muslim negotiations, but I can say that it is a combination of political and military solutions.

[Dadic] Was the attempted breakthrough of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] to reach Novi Travnik via Gornji Vakuf, which began when General Roso was appointed commander of the HVO, interrupted due to a military failure or as a consequence of a political decision?

[Prlic] This is a strictly military question and I do not want to reveal any details. The fact is that the HVO managed to keep their defense line and that HVO units hold some important points in that area.

[Dadic] Is there a strong possibility that the HVO units might blow up the explosives factory in Vitez?

[Prlic] Yes, that is a strong possibility.

Muslim-Serb Offensive Is Possible!

[Dadic] What is your opinion about the proposal of the Croatian opposition to request the Security Council to put the valley of the Lasva under UN protection?

[Prlic] We officially filed that proposal already five months ago, demanding that besieged Croatian enclaves be declared safe zones under UN protection, so that this proposal of the Croatian opposition does not say anything new.

[Dadic] Do you think that, after the possible fall of besieged Croatian enclaves, the Muslims and the Serbs could join in an attempt to gain access to the sea, regardless of whether they will use military or political means?

[Prlic] Everything is possible in this war, and that as well.

[Dadic] The Vance-Owen plan planned to give 24 percent of the territory to the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and after it failed, the Owen-Stoltenberg plan talks about 17 percent. It seems possible that another plan might give even less to the Croats, since they presently militarily hold only 9 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Prlic] I do not agree that the Croats presently hold only 9 percent of the territory. We control a far bigger territory, but the problem lies in the fact that they are not tied into one whole. And with regard to the comparison of the Vance-Owen and Owen-Stoltenberg's peace plan, many are wrong here, for those two plans significantly differ in their content. The Vance-Owen plan did not give the Croats 24 percent of the territory but provinces where the Croats constituted a majority, which greatly differs from what is offered by the Owen-Stoltenberg plan.

[Dadic] The fact is that the Croats do not completely control a single town.

[Prlic] The Croats did not have absolute majority in any town. That was the case in Banja Luka, Zenica, Tuzla, and Sarajevo, and those are facts we cannot deny. Indeed, the Croats made up a large percentage in many towns, but there were nowhere a majority, and that is a fact. We consider Mostar the capital of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, and it is a fact that there was approximately an equal percentage of the Croats and of the Muslims. In Mostar, the Party of Democratic Action was proposed forming the authorities according to the principle of parity—50:50—but the Muslims did not agree to that. The Croats never said that Mostar was an exclusively Croat town. It does belong to the Croats, but also to other nations which live there.

[Dadic] Does that mean that Herceg-Bosnian authorities agree to divide power in Mostar and thereby give up liberating the entire town?

[Prlic] It is normal that people who live in that town participate in the authorities. You cannot expect the Croats to hold 100 percent of the authorities while there are 50 percent of the Muslims living in that town. The problem of Mostar will have to be solved by its inhabitants, the local population. Consequently, in Mostar, there will be no room for all the newcomers and refugees who changed the demographic structure and who were the main element of destabilization of situation and later on caused military conflicts in this town.

[Dadic] Can this problem be solved peacefully at all, since the Croats and the Muslims are still fighting each other in Mostar.

[Prlic] That is a quite difficult process, but do we have any alternative?

[Dadic] In his interview for GLOBUS, Mile Akmadzic, who is presently negotiating for the Herceg-Bosnian side, did not give a categorical answer to the question whether Mostar would remain a part of Herceg-Bosna.

[Prlic] Mostar will remain in Herceg-Bosna, that is for sure.

What Does S. Praljak's Letter of Resignation Say?

[Dadic] Do you still think that the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina republics is possible?

[Prlic] That is the only remaining possibility to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a country.

[Dadic] In the event of the final disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will Herceg-Bosna join Croatia?

[Prlic] Herceg-Bosna will never be the first to leave Bosnia-Herzegovina and secede unilaterally. If the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina republics is possible, Herceg-Bosna will remain a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, if Bosnia-Herzegovina should nevertheless disintegrate as a result of secession of one of other two republics, then Herceg-Bosna would have no alternative but to join Croatia.

[Dadic] How true are rumors that Mate Boban will no longer be the president of Herceg-Bosna and that Mile Akmadzic will take his position?

[Prlic] I do not know anything about that. Mate Boban is the president of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna and Mile Akmadzic is the minister for international cooperation, and that is all I can tell you.

[Dadic] Why does Boban no longer participate in negotiations?

[Prlic] Our foreign minister participated in talks with Mr. Granic, and I think that is normal.

[Dadic] Why was Slobodan Praljak replaced?

[Prlic] Slobodan Praljak resigned from his position as the head of the HVO, due to illness, and I personally read his letter of resignation.

[Dadic] The rumor has it that he left because the Old Bridge of Mostar was destroyed.

[Prlic] Praljak left before the bridge was destroyed.

[Dadic] Will General Roso manage to reorganize the HVO?

[Prlic] The process of reorganization is under way and it is moving at an optimal rate. We have already had some results, but also some difficulties in the process. However, the direction of reorganization was defined and we are trying to stick to it as much as we can.

[Dadic] Is it true that members of the HVO from Kiseljak, who allegedly made a few fatal mistakes in defending Vares and thereby caused the fall of that town, are to blame for that?

[Prlic] No, that is not true. Every time a town is conquered or an area is lost, there are rumors that it was either sold or betrayed or that someone else is to blame rather than those who lived in that town and were supposed to defend it. It was very difficult to defend and keep Vares, especially since it was attacked by two Muslim corps. Vares had one brigade of 1,500 soldiers and a frontline about 60 km long. The involvement of the Tuzla corps was here crucial and totally unexpected.

[Dadic] But, that happened after the atrocities committed by Croatian units in Stupni Dol.

[Prlic] Yes, and we are making an investigation with regard to Stupni Dol and we will reveal its results to the public. But there are difficulties in carrying out that investigation, for the HVO does not control that area and it is not possible to get all relevant information necessary to get the whole picture.

[Dadic] When will you pull out the Vares HVO brigade "Bobovac," whose men are still practically a buffer between the Serbs and the Muslims on the area of several square kilometers near Vares?

[Prlic] That brigade holds a part of the Vares municipality and it is a matter of strategic, military, and other estimates how the brigade will be used in the future.

(Un)Controversial Departure for Banja Luka

[Dadic] Tell us about future county organization of Herceg-Bosna?

[Prlic] The Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna will be organized in four counties: Herzegovinian-Hum, Zavrsje-Ram, Bosnia-Lasva, and the county of Bosanska Posavina.

[Dadic] However, politicians from Bosanska Posavina decided to establish their own province and thus said "no" to the planned county of Bosanska Posavina.

[Prlic] There is a large number of refugees in that area, approximately 120,000, and it is possible that there are some ideas which are not quite realistic. The county of Bosanska Posavina has a high level of independence as it always did, but there were no people who could perform important functions. Regarding stories about autonomy, let me ask the advocates of that idea—autonomy from what? For, autonomy is usually founded by a nation which constitutes a minority, which is not the case here. Certain processes are going on in Posavina and the government is prepared to consider all political options.

[Dadic] Your departure for Banja Luka, a couple of months ago, was controversial. Not long after you returned, several Croats were killed in the vicinity of that town, and a large group of Croats were exiled. To what extent are such visits to Chetnik centers justified, in your case, the visit to Banja Luka?

[Prlic] First of all, that information that some Croats were killed is not true.

[Dadic] But the Banja Luka Bishop Komarica wrote that in his letter.

[Prlic] I stay in contact with Bishop Komarica and he is really doing his best to improve the position of the Croats living in that area in a very difficult situation. I think that there have been some results with regard to that. Most importantly, the Croats are no longer mobilized into the Serbian Army and I think that is an extremely important achievement. In most parts, we managed to get free passage for humanitarian convoys for the Croats and we are trying to organize a special surgery and even a hospital in Banja Luka which would employ Croats.

[Dadic] What do the Serbs get in return for granting concessions for those Croats you mentioned from Herceg-Bosnian authorities?

[Prlic] Nothing.

[Dadic] Nothing?

[Prlic] Nothing, this simply a matter of reciprocity, for a large percentage of the Serbs live in Mostar and other areas of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna.

No Conflicts With the Church

[Dadic] Will the "Serbian republic" and Herceg-Bosna recognize each other?

[Prlic] Yes, if there is a union of three republics; in that case, the mere formation of the union will imply the existence of three republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina which will recognize each other.

[Dadic] We have noticed a rift between the authorities and the Catholic Church in Herceg-Bosna.

[Prlic] No, there is no such rift. I think that is exaggerated. The Church is an institution and we know how valuable it is. The Church will stay, and politics will change. My view is clear, and I presented it to church officials on several occasions—I am the head of executive authorities in the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, i.e. I implement a certain politics and I do not want to be an instrument of the Church or to suit their interest, nor will we use the Church for realizing certain political interests.

[Dadic] Still, the guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Siroki Brijeg, father Jozo Zorko, reproaches Herceg-Bosnian politicians for avoiding the church, ignoring it, and manipulating it today, almost like the communists did before.

[Prlic] I have already mentioned instrumentalization and I think I was clear enough. Otherwise, one must find faults in everything, even in politics, and I am more critical than many others with regard to the operationalization of politics and functioning of the authorities. However, if we want to retrieve the legal system, then we have to support those authorities in their attempt to do

that. If not, if we criticize the present authorities too much, that will lead to chaos and anarchy.

[Dadic] To what extent has the Government of Herceg-Bosna managed to revitalize the legal system and succeed in fighting black-marketing in Herzegovina?

[Prlic] Most of those rumors about this area were proved unfounded. Today it is obvious that Herceg-Bosna simply served as a cover for black-marketing in Croatia.

[Dadic] What are the main mistakes of the Herceg-Bosnian authorities which caused the loss of a large part of Herceg-Bosna?

[Prlic] There were mistakes, first of all in the operative realization of some functions, both in the army and in other segments. However, we must consider the fact that the ratio of powers in the war between the Croats and the Muslims is several times higher in favor of the Muslims. On the other hand, due to information that there would be an agreement with the Muslims, as well as due to various negotiations with the Muslim side, many military operations were stopped.

Still, the main problem was that, outside the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, we had seven elite HVO brigades which, if they withdrew to the area of Herceg-Bosna, would strengthen the defense line and the situation would be quite different. But we had no strength for making that political decision, due to many factors which should be evaluated in the future.

[Box, p 5]

"Soldiers Blocked the Government!"

While we were wrapping up the interview with Jadranko Prlic, we suddenly heard heavy marching in the hall and soon also some shouting in the office of Prlic's secretary. Prlic thanked us for the interview and immediately went out to see what was going on. He then went to the conference room with a couple of soldiers and his associates. We wanted to leave the building, but we were met by a large group of armed soldiers at the entrance, who literally blocked the building of the Herceg-Bosnian Government. A whole battalion came to protest, for they had not received their salaries for three months, and its representatives went to talk to the head of the Herceg-Bosnian Government. They kindly asked us to go back into the building. "Not even Tito-Mate Boban will leave here until we get paid," said one of them. Only after an hour and a half, after Prlic himself intervened, could we leave the building, but no one else, members and personnel of the government, was allowed to leave. Agreement was reached only one hour later.

Tudjman on Yugoslav Accord, Other Issues

LD2201204194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer] The president of the Republic of Croatia has received Croatian prefects at the Presidential Palace. President Tudjman informed the prefects about the basic outlines of Croatia's policies, especially those conducted over the past couple of days—the decision on the normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and the talks on ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Addressing the prefects, President Tudjman stressed that they were the most important officials in Croatia's state system. Speaking about the historical significance of the present moment, and the decision to go ahead with the signing of the agreement on the normalization of relations with the FRY, President Tudjman underlined that this creates conditions for the fastest possible reintegration of Croatian territories under the protection of the peacekeeping forces, that is, under Serbian occupation, into the constitutional and legal system of Croatia.

President Tudjman called on all prefects whose counties border on these regions to contribute to the creation of conditions for the implementation of these policies.

[Begin Tudjman recording] As you have seen, the government has already reached decisions on the establishment of telephone links. You have heard [Tudjman laughs] that their [Serbian] representatives themselves said they would agree to the opening of the highway via Okucani [Serb-held town in Slavonia on the currently-unused Belgrade-Zagreb highway] and a railway line. They even mentioned the most sensitive issue—the opening of the Zagreb-Split railway line via Knin [capital of Serb Krajina]. I will not go to any pains to emphasize this—since they accept this themselves—if a citizen of ours can feel free to travel via Knin by train, then the problem is 90 percent solved. If they [the Serbs] and their representatives—who had boasted about Krajina being an independent state—if they acknowledge this, then it is obvious that we are getting close to a peaceful resolution.

Of course, we should not deceive ourselves into believing that things will go smoothly and we should not completely discount the possibility that we might be compelled to resort to other means. Nevertheless, I believe that we are on the right track, that we have found a way to solve our strategic problem, to liberate every square inch of Croatian soil, and to satisfy the demands of the international community, which had proposed that we refrain from the use of force at all costs. If we were to opt for the armed liberation of the UNPA [UN Protected Areas], the international community would seriously consider the imposition of sanctions. Therefore, those are our interests, those are the demands of the international community, this is a victory for our policy, this accelerates the return of our refugees, this opens up prospects for development in peace. [end recording]

[Announcer] Pointing out that we are facing serious tasks at the beginning of this year, President Tudjman called on the prefects to fully cooperate with the Croatian Government. This major political victory should be translated into practice immediately, to the benefit of the Croatian people and the Croatian state, the Croatian president said.

At the same time, we are trying to conclude an agreement with the Bosnian Muslims in order to end the war they are now waging against the Croats, with the intention of occupying Croat-populated territories, President Tudjman stressed.

[Begin Tudjman recording] As serious people who must be informed, I can tell you that Izetbegovic proposed to me that, he said: Let western Herzegovina be immediately united with Croatia. But, he said, allow us to have central Bosnia—those areas of central Bosnia which are envisaged to be part of the Croat Republic in the framework of the Union [of Republics] of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But they [Muslims] are undertaking large-scale offensives there. They hoped, even over the Christmas holiday, to conquer these areas—Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca, Kiseljak, Kresevo. But, you see, in these talks we agreed that of these areas, Kiseljak and Kresevo, although these are areas with a majority Croatian population, [they] would remain [as heard] in that Bosniak Muslim republic in order to satisfy international demands that this Bosniak Muslim republic—in the framework of the Union or independently—might have the territorial conditions for an independent existence. But we insisted, and we are insisting, that that area of central Bosnia—Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca—be part of the Croat republic, or if there is demarcation [between separate states] they could become areas within the Croatian state. [end recording]

[Announcer] Noting that this is the beginning of a year that promises to be even more successful than the previous three, President Tudjman stressed that we would realize Croatian state objectives by our consistent policy. In implementing this policy, we must achieve the unity of the Croatian people, President Tudjman said.

[Begin Tudjman recording] Let us be consistent in the implementation of state policy, and let us work for the unity of Croatian ranks. There may be political and party differences, but when it is a matter of state interests, there cannot be several policies but one policy. [end recording]

[Announcer] Speaking about the success of the Croatian Government in wiping out inflation, President Tudjman said that this provides a basis for faith in future economic development. Analyzing the introduction of a new convertible currency, he recalled that the kuna—which was the Croatian currency 10 centuries ago, and which will be something to take pride in because the people will know that for the first time in their history they will have their own currency—is being introduced.

Finally, President Tudjman wished the prefects full success in their work for the counties and the whole Croatian state. Also present at the reception were Nikica Valentic, the prime minister of Croatia, Josip Manolic, the speaker of the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly, and other high-ranking officials of the Republic of Croatia.

'Easing of Tensions' With Krajina Expected

LD2101162394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1533 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—A certain easing of tensions could be expected between the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) and the Republic of Croatia after the signing of the statement on normalization of relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) in Geneva on Wednesday [26 January].

"The R.S.K. is ready for dialogue with the Croats on restoring the severed flow in the area of infrastructure," said R.S.K. foreign minister Slobodan Jarcevic in an interview to the Belgrade Daily POLITIKA on Friday. The Serbs proclaimed the R.S.K in 1991 in parts of Croatia in which they make up the majority population in response to Zagreb's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and attempts at reducing the status of the Serbs from a constituent people to one of a national minority. Croatia, which does not recognize the R.S.K., was trying by means of war to establish there its authority although the R.S.K was declared a U.N.-protected area in the spring of 1992.

It was possible, for instance, to solve the question of water supply for the port city Zadar from the river Zrmanja, on the territory of the R.S.K., but the Croatian side should in return enable production of electrical power in the Obrovac power plant, explained Jarcevic. The R.S.K. authorities in his view, understood the problem of the Croats who were trying to restore traffic between the south and the north. This will be made possible, but in return most likely access to one of the Adriatic ports on the Croatian territory would be requested.

"The Belgrade-Zagreb highway, the oil pipeline, the establishing of telephone links are in similar packages," said Jarvcevic. The R.S.K., he added understood the needs of the Croats, but at the same time set out that its own interests too were not to be overlooked. Jarcevic especially stressed that 'no negotiations on the R.S.K. territory could be conducted apart from legitimate representatives of the R.S.K.'

In view of Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, the Geneva agreement between the F.R.Y. and Croatia did not prejudice the solution for the R.S.K. The Croatian Government decided Friday to restore in a few days telephone links with the F.R.Y. severed three years ago, it was announced in Zagreb. Normalization of telephone communication was possible within a period of two-three days, POLITIKA has learned at the Yugoslav postal services. The paper said linking of the electrical power lines between the F.R.Y. and Croatia could also be expected. These were severed in September 1991.

Granic Sends Letter to UN on Agreement

LD2101192694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Mate Granic, the Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said in his letter to UNSC [UN Security Council] Chairman Karel Kovanda that the joint declaration, signed by Croatia and the FRY in Geneva, was the first step forward in the process of the normalization of mutual relations. Granic also said that the government of the Republic of Croatia was deeply convinced that both sides will from now on act strictly in accordance with the provisions laid down by the Helsinki Final Document of 1975, and especially in line with the principle whereby international borders cannot and must not be changed by force. Granic stressed that the joint declaration was on no account directed against the third side [Muslims] and that it should ensure a modus vivendi for Croatian territories under UN protection, in keeping with the European Union plan and UNSC Resolution 871.

Granic: Croatia Welcomes Partnership for Peace

LD2301205794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Dr. Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and Dr. Zarko Domljan, the deputy chairman of the [Croatian] Assembly, have left for Strasbourg, where they are to have talks with Council of Europe officials. Before he left, Minister Granic held a brief news conference, that was also attended by our reporter Branko [word indistinct].

Setting out the aim of his visit to Strasbourg, Dr. Mate Granic said:

[Granic] "Croatia has special guest status in the Council of Europe, while at this moment the process of it becoming a full member has been frozen. The basic aims of my stay in Strasbourg will be to explain Croatian positions in the talks in Geneva, especially the joint declaration between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the talks with the Bosnian Muslim side, and there will also be a discussion of all open questions during a meeting with the most senior officials in the Council of Europe. A news conference will also be organized."

[Announcer] After he was asked to do so by journalist, Minister Granic also set out the standpoints and plans of the Republic of Croatia regarding the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative.

[Granic] "Croatia welcomes this initiative. President Tudjman, even during the peace talks in Bonn welcomed the NATO decisions, and also welcomed the initiative during his talks with Mrs. Madeleine Albright. Our ambassador in the Council of Europe did the same during a meeting of CSCE senior officials. Croatia will carefully study all the documents and in a very short time send its offer to NATO. It should be stressed that Croatia is conscious of specific realities—namely that 25 percent of our territory is under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] supervision. At the same time, Croatia will do everything to develop and strengthen democratic institutions, especially the Croatian Army, which has no roots in the Warsaw Treaty [Organization], but developed out of a defensive war the system of which has the same basis as in all democratic countries of Europe; it makes use of all the best expert and scientific knowledge and also democratic (?rules). We will very rapidly get in touch with the North Atlantic Alliance and after this we will send it our offer. This will be Croatia's offer to the PFP initiative."

[Announcer] On his return from Strasbourg on Tuesday [25 January] Dr. Mate Granic will be present at talks in Ljubljana between the Croatian and Slovenian prime ministers. Asked what he expects from this meeting, Dr. Granic said:

[Granic] "I believe that over these last 10 days or so an important step has been taken in the preparation of this meeting. I will be joined by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic because this will be a meeting between prime ministers and foreign ministers, and I think that an important step will be taken to resolve our problems, and of course prepare for the signing of very important agreements. We believe that all the conditions exist for an agreement to be reached on all economic questions—the questions of Krsko [nuclear plant] and Ljubljanska Banka [Ljubljana Bank] and also agreements on property and legal issues, as well as an economic agreement and numerous other important agreements."

[Announcer] According to Minister Granic there will also be talks on the Bay of Piran, the question of borders, highways, and other questions important to Croatia and Slovenia.

'Good' Turnout Reported at Krajina Elections

AU2301161594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Report by Miladin Manojlovic from Beli Manastir]

[Excerpts] As of 1300, 40 percent of the voters in Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem had visited the polling stations, which can be considered a good response considering the poor weather conditions in this area.

In the Beli Manastir electoral unit, as of 1300, approximately 40 percent of the voters have turned out. This percentage had already been achieved in Vukovar at 1200. The response will definitely be even greater since the sun is melting the ice and snow on the paths. The low temperatures and ice have forced many people to wait until this afternoon to vote. However, some just could not be dissuaded by the bad weather to fulfill their civic right and vote for one of the two presidential candidates in the republic of Serbian Krajina. [passage omitted]

The polling stations will remain open until 1900. The first unofficial results as to who has won the second round of elections, Milan Babic or Milan Martic, will be announced tomorrow evening after 1900. Vukovar has forwarded us the data for some other localities in the republic of Serbian Krajina. In Vojnic, 17 percent voted by noon; Vrgin Most 35 percent; Drnis 20 percent; Okucani 32 percent, Pakrac 50 percent; and Petrinja 30 percent.

Archbishop Rejects Tudjman's Bosnia Policy

AU2101191894 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Zagreb Archbishop Franjo Kuharic has criticized Croatian President Tudjman's policy. The cardinal clearly rejected the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If a change of Bosnia's borders by force were permitted, the borders of Croatia and other countries would no longer be inviolable either. The church is calling for a peace that does justice to all nationalities, explained the cardinal, who sharply condemned anti-Semitic media reports in Croatia only a few days ago.

Institute Presents Negative Trade Results

AU2401082794 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 94 p 9

[HINA report: "A 15-Percent Drop in Exports"]

[Text] Zagreb—Croatian trade with other countries amounted to somewhat more than $8.57 billion last year, which is 5.4 percent less than in 1992. This was published by the State Statistics Institute. Croatian exports amounted to $3.9 billion, 15.1 percent less than in 1992. At the same time, imports increased 4.6 percent as compared to 1992 and reached $4.6 billion.

As far as the product structure is concerned, the export of consumer goods increased 3.6 percent to $1.57 billion. The import of the same products to Croatia amounted to $1.16 billion, 2.9 percent more than in 1992. The export of production materials dropped in 1993 by 17.3 percent ($1.97 billion), and their import by 3.7 percent to $2.74 billion.

The most important Croatian trade partners are European countries to which products worth $3.6 billion were exported. This is 14.9 percent less than in 1992. European countries exported to Croatia products worth approximately $4 billion, which is 3.9 percent more than in 1992. Exports to the European Union in 1993 exceeded those of 1992 by 6.2 percent and amounted to somewhat more than $2 billion, whereas during the same

time, the European Union exported to Croatia goods worth $2.25 billion, an increase of 20.9 percent as compared to 1992.

The most significant among Croatian trade partners are Germany, Italy, and Slovenia. Exports to Germany amounted to $895 million, which is an increase of 15.8 percent compared to 1992, whereas Croatian imports from Germany amounted to $990 million, which is 29.1 percent more than the year before. Exports to Italy dropped by 8.8 percent to $828 million. Trade with Slovenia decreased, but the exports equaled the imports. During 1993, exports to Slovenia dropped by 35.4 percent to $711 million, whereas imports from Slovenia dropped during the same time by 18.5 percent to $712 million.

Article Assesses Serbian Weapon Developments

AU2201202494 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 94 pp 12-13

[Article by Fran Visnar: "Topaz Among the Serb Howitzers"]

[Text] What Croatia will do in 1994 is the most frequent question that not only the rebel Serbs, but also the military analysts in Belgrade ask themselves. Apart from studying the power and the intentions of the Croatian Army, they are also considering the total Serb potential in case another great Serb-Croat war breaks out.

Bearing in mind the lessons of the fighting in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the strategists of the regular Serbian army believe that, at the very beginning of serious conflicts with the Croats, as strong forces as possible should be be deployed at the crucial point on the battlefield. To achieve that, it is necessary to choose the appropriate operational direction and avoid the unpleasant experiences of Vukovar. The present Serbian commanders (all of whom got a good taste of gunpowder during 1991 and 1992) are simply obsessed with the importance of selecting the best strategy. They are considering all the advantages and disadvantages of simple and a complex strategies in relation to Croatia and its defense. They will consider the strategy that would, in a given situation, enable bringing more of their own forces than enemy troops to be best. At any point, the battle is not won by troops noted down on lists or scattered, but those that had been collected earlier, trained well, equipped excellently, and prepared to go into action at the crucial point on the battlefield immediately.

Where Will the Serbs Strike?

It has still not been decided in Belgrade where they should strike first to "cut the entrails of Croatia." In any case, if Serbia starts an open war again (which will be the case if the "Krajinas" are endangered), it will not be able to do anything without the coordinated support of the army of the Bosnian Serbs and joint plans. There is another thing to be clarified. Whatever our opinion of the Serbs may be, it has to be admitted that they have what military theory defines as stamina, elasticity, and the will to survive regardless of the conditions, the rationality and justifiability of their political opinions, the balance of power, and external pressures. The Croat side must, by no means, put all its hopes on the economic exhaustion of Serbia and its monetary breakdown. North Vietnam also went bankrupt in the Vietnam war, and in the late Sixties, instead of the completely devalued local currency, the dong, a pack of cigarettes became the unofficial means of payment (the clever or lucky Vietnamese who possessed a carton of Marlboros were considered rich). In spite of everything, Hanoi fought against the Americans for 15 years, with the income per capita being $100, and the Vietnamese constantly sending weapons and experts to their ideological supporters in South Vietnam.

Belgrade still does not deprive its cousins in the rebel areas of Croatia of heavy weapons, military equipment, and the means of transporting troops. On the contrary, while the people in Belgrade are fighting and stepping over one another for a loaf of bread, and waiting in lines for hours to receive a free Christmas cookie, the Serb military industry works at full capacity. This time we will present, in detail, three new systems that are already being delivered to the "Krajinas" and Ratko Mladic's [commander of the armed forces of the republic of Srpska] units assigned to intervene as soon as the new round of war starts in Croatia and around it.

Having fought against the Croats, the Serbs have learned that they have to remove the losses from the frontlines and deliver new stocks fast. This is why they have not sent the remaining T-55 tanks to the breaker's yards: 390 of those veterans, made in the Sixties, are undergoing many changes and improvements to increase their power, armored protection, and mobility. The same steering system that the modern M-84 contains has been installed in the changed Serbian tank T-55. Its power has been increased by installing two launching rails (on the turret) for armor-piercing Maljutka guided missiles. The French first implemented this idea three decades ago (on small tanks AMX-13); the Serbs have now applied it to their still most-numerous basic combat tank. The Maljutkas are guided to the target (armored vehicles and fortified facilities at a distance between 500 and 3,000 meters), from the guiding control panel situated in the tank itself. The pitch of the missile is regulated by the mechanism for elevating the gun barrel, and the operator guides the missile by watching through the existing tank telescope sight, the magnification factor of which is increased with additional optics. With the two missiles that are on the launchers all the time, there are also four more Maljutkas within the tank turret.

The Systematic Arming of the "Krajina"

With further modifications, the Serbs improved the characteristics of the artillery ammunition for the T-55, and, by installing thermal insulation cover on the outer surface of the barrel of the 100-mm caliber gun, the traces appearing as a result of uneven cooling are

reduced by 80 percent. This has increased the precision of the gun itself. The 12.7-mm caliber DSKM [expansion unknown] heavy machine gun was retained on the turret, as well as the matching 7.62-mm caliber PKT [expansion unknown] machine gun. The Serb engineers have also installed the anti-cumulative screens, protecting the sides of the tank, below the supports for cases and reservoirs, the critical junction of the armored panels of the tank floor and the sides, and the surface at the level of the junction of the tank turret and the armored body.

The Serbs want to secure the survival of this veteran primarily on the Croatian battlefields. On the front of the turret they installed 12 smoke launchers that can fire smoke canisters distances greater than 100 meters (the equipment is identical to that used on the M-84 tank). Apart from creating a smokescreen, the launching barrels for firing smoke canisters increase the anti-cumulative protection of the turret (on hitting these barrels, enemy missiles are activated too early, and their total effect is decreased).

Since most of the improved T-55's will be sent to Baranja and east Slavonia to reinforce the existing armored units, they have also installed an entrenching plow (on the lower front glacis plate). Entrenching takes 15 to 20 minutes (depending on the type and category of soil). The plow switches from use to the mobile position and vice versa in 2 to 3 minutes. This improvement makes the T-55 independent in creating shelter, and the additional armored panel on the plow increases the armored protection of the tank front.

For close anti-armor fighting, the Serbs have developed a new light rocket launcher (they call it a "tank destroyer") that introduces a new quality in the offensive and defensive activities of their infantry. It is a simple 120-mm caliber weapon (the M91 rocket launcher is more powerful than the Zolja and Osa) whose main purpose is to break active and reactive tank shields. It is most effective at 400 to 500 meters distance, with a precision that provides for a deviation of 20 centimeters from the target. The system is weatherproof (within a temperature range from -30 to +50 degrees Centigrade); sand, dust, rain, snow, and ice will not harm it. The minimum distance using the launcher is 25 meters. The rocket will not fail at angles of incidence greater than 20 degrees; the fuse is of a quality providing reliable efficiency at all projected distances. The launcher is disposable, and a telescope or passive night sight can be installed on it. This is the variant sent to the Bosnian Serbs and the rebel Serb areas in Croatia, while the laser target markers will only be fitted to launchers on the ground of mother Serbian (for fear of their being captured). From this light, serially produced system, the Serbs are developing a similar type of rocket launcher for multiple use.

What everyone is looking forward to in the "Krajinas" is a new 100-m caliber M-91 Topaz anti-tank gun (the Serbs call it a gem among guns). Its main purpose is anti-armored fighting at distances between 2,000 and 3,000 meters. The Serbs designed and started the serial production of this piece, which has a low firing height, with the internal ballistic design of the Russian T-12 anti-tank gun (which is also of 100-mm caliber). The differences in relation to the T-12 is the following: Topaz uses the elements of the three-legged gun carriage of the Serb 122-mm D30-J howitzer, which provides a 360-degree field of fire. Above its barrel Topaz has an installed anti-recoil device which the 122-mm D30-J howitzer also contains, increasing stability during firing. Moreover, Topaz is 2 meters shorter in transport than the T-12 gun (the piece is connected to the vehicle through the Topaz gas break).

A day-and-night fire-control system [SUV—fire-control system] has been developed for the Topaz. The system can be used on the Russian 100-mm T-12 and MT-12 caliber anti-tank guns (they are still part of the Serb armament; Croatia also has them), and they are ballistically fully compatible with Topaz. The fire- control system determines and visualizes all the necessary elements of indirect and direct fire at immobile and mobile targets. The probability of hitting a mobile target (at the distances of efficient destruction range) with the first bullet is greater than 70 percent, and the system reaction time at battery level is less than 15 seconds.

Let Us Not Fool Ourselves, They Are Not Finished!

Let us summarize: The claim one can often hear around here is: "The Serbs are finished." However, this is contrary to the undoubted Serb vitality in continuing to add links to its chain of technical and technological equipment despite the embargo and the losses they have suffered. This is why, instead of short-term propaganda, it is more important for our state to cut off the logistic tail of the Serbian rebellion that wishes to hold out with new weapons, in which the messages of fighting in these areas over the past three years are inbuilt. For Croatia it is a matter of long-term survival. For the Serbs it is a misfortune that is only waiting to happen.

Main Characteristics of 100-mm Topaz M-91 Gun
Mass: 3,600 kg
Piece length in transit: 7,500 mm
Piece width in transit: 1,950 mm
(Gun-carriage) wheelbase [kolotrag]: 1,850 mm
Clearance: 335 mm
Firing height: 900 mm
Barrel: smooth
Breech: vertical-cuneate, semi-automatic
Firing speed: 6 shots per minute
Gun carriage: three-legged, with torsional reliance
Movement speed: 60 km/h on road; 15 km/h off road
Activity field:—linear: 360 degrees;—elevational: -6 to +18 degrees
Ammunition (missiles): cumulative, destructive
Efficient range for 2.7 m target height: 2,200 m
Greatest range of destructive missile: 8,200 m
Sights: Topaz fire-control system (SUV), optical sight, panorama, collimator

Tactical and Technical Characteristics of M 91 Rocket Launcher
Power: rocket
Caliber: 120 mm
Range: 500 m
Penetrability (armor): 700 mm
Missile mass: 7 kg
Weapon mass: 12 kg
Weapon length: 1,300 mm

Technical Characteristics of Fire-Control System (SUV) for 100-mm Guns T-12 and Topaz M-91
Day Device:
Magnification: 7x
Vision range: 7 degrees
Lowest scale division: 0-05
Night Device:
Magnification: 7.7x
Vision range: 6 degrees
Video amplifier: second generation
Surveillance range at environment lumination 1/10 lux: 900 m

Ranging Laser:
Distance measuring range: 200 to 9,995 m
Greatest measuring error: 10 m
Distance blocking capacity: 180 to 3,000 m
Target focussing capacity: 40 m
Resolution: 10 m
Duration: 300,000 measurements

Computer and the Electronics Block:

(parameter capacity):

All kinds of ammunition, angle of inclination of cradle shoulders, initial missile speed deviation, wind velocity, distance from target, powder temperature, air temperature, atmospheric pressure
—target tracking speed: up to 30 mrad/s
—accuracy of determining target elements: 0.15 mrad
—total accuracy: 0.4 mrad
—target element calculation time: less than 0.5 s
—temperature scope: -25 to +55 degrees Centigrade

Drnovsek Views NATO, Relations With Croatia

AU2101172994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by Nadja Pengov and Suzana Kos on news conference by Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek in Ljubljana on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] Regarding the different public assessments on what Partnership for Peace means for Slovenia, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek has presented his view. According to him, the offer for Slovenia to actively participate in the NATO security concept is very advantageous and at the moment, the optimum opportunity. Partnership for Peace provides Slovenia with the equal initial conditions that other European countries have. However, it is up to Slovenia to decide how it will join the partnership. According to the prime minister, what is important for us is to cooperate on drafting defense concepts. We also have the opportunity to hold consultations if our security is endangered. It is also important that the document has particularly presented the concept of the so-called clear defense—in fact, defense that is under the complete control of civilian politics.

Regarding relations with Croatia, our government does not want to bring the events connected with Croatia's debts to the Krsko nuclear power plant to the state level. The government is convinced that Croatia has to settle its liabilities for the electricity that belongs to it and that this is a matter of usual business relations. The prime minister expects that this, as well as other open questions between the two states, will be solved soon at the meeting with Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, which is to be held in Ljubljana next Tuesday, 25 January. The meeting should be a new stage in our relations. However, we cannot guarantee that, he said, even though Slovenia is interested in solving all disputed questions and in not having mutual relations become aggravated.

The Piran Bay border will be, according to Dr. Drnovsek, one of the most difficult problems in the negotiations.

[Drnovsek] The Slovene stands in this respect are clear and proceed from our sovereignty. The Croatian views, however, about the Piran Bay have so far been somewhat different.

The way in which this issue will be solved depends on how all the other problems are solved. Regarding the nuclear power plant's debts, the government expects the Croatian side to begin settling the debts. In case this does not happen, some technical measures are already being prepared in the nuclear power plant, but this may not be necessary. Slovenia will also guarantee the rights that ensue from the Croatian share in the nuclear power plant.

Dr. Drnovsek also touched upon the decision that Slovenia will no longer directly pay part of the debts of the former Yugoslavia to the group of commercial banks until an agreement is reached on the division of these liabilities. There is still no reaction on the part of the creditors to the Slovene decision. Our side expects this decision to speed up negotiations and that the (?solidarity) clause and the freezing of assets of the receiver of the loans will not be implemented. According to Dr. Drnovsek, the decision will not affect the promised loans that Slovenia, among others, should receive from the World Bank.

Regarding this year's budget, the prime minister said that the government will submit the document to the parliamentary procedure within the next 10 days. The deputies should adopt it at a session in March. The government will continue the present orientations concerning the volume of the budget, which should not exceed 402 billion [currency not specified], Prime Minister Drnovsek said. The coalition partners should coordinate all key questions before the parliamentary debate. For example, the coalition will try to agree, among other things, on the fact that all [word indistinct] funds will come within the framework of the budget.

[Drnovsek] Concerning money for gasoline, the Army, and education, it is important that solutions be coordinated within that joint framework of 402 billion. It is in this direction that we seek coordination, which means that funds earmarked for defense, for example, should not exceed the funds for education and that the education funds should not, conditionally speaking, exceed the Army funds. These are two spheres, and there are also other ones, but there should be a rational solution available that is reasonable and which can be argued for and put into the framework of these 402 billion.

Regarding the social agreement on the basis of which all partners, including the trade unions, will accept their share of responsibility for Slovenia's future, the prime minister said that in case the social agreement is not adopted, the government will adopt the appropriate measures—above all, on the regulation of wages. According to him, administrative measures will not be involved, but the paying of wages will be regulated by law as it is regulated by the current collective agreement. [Word indistinct] of the mentioned wages is fatal for the Slovene economy and could lead to its bankruptcy, said the prime minister. The government will wait for the decision by the coalition partners for approximately two more weeks. Let us also mention that the Association of the Free Trade Unions yesterday rejected the draft social agreement. Dr. Drnovsek comments on that decision:

[Drnovsek] If it is true that this is their response, then what I just said also holds. The real assessment is that a social agreement is not possible at this time, that obviously not all partners are ready, that some of the partners are not ready to accept responsibility or cannot accept the responsibility ensuing from such an agreement. In that case, all this responsibility would have to be taken over by the government, along with all the difficulties that would ensue from that.

Commission Head Outlines Visit to Bonn

AU2201175894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Zoran Thaler, president of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission, at a news conference today outlined in more detail the results of a recent visit to Bonn. He emphasized that the visit was part of Slovenia's efforts to sign the associate membership agreement with the European Union as soon as possible and pointed out that as of June, Germany will assume the presidency of the European Twelve for six months. According to Thaler, the host supports Slovenia's efforts. During the visit, the delegation expressed support for German efforts to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The delegation also reminded its host of the unresolved issue of war reparations for the Slovene parties wronged in World War II.

Thaler also brought up some topical foreign affairs issues. He emphasized that the commission will insist on acceptance of the cooperation between Slovenia and NATO offered within the Partnership for Peace plan. He also expressed surprise over the foreign minister's support of the Croatian-Serbian agreement on the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Zagreb.

Peterle Views Relations With Croatia

AU2301192494 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 94 pp 8,9

[Interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Djurdjica Klancir in Ljubljana; date not given: "I Am Not For Slovenia's Implementing the Hammer Policy Against Croatia"]

[Text] In the last several months, Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle has been putting up with severe criticism in the Slovene Parliament: He is being reproached for being too soft, too naive in negotiations with Croatia. His political opponent, Dimitrij Rupel, is particularly vociferous. "No, I do not want to polemicize with him. When he was a minister he did not know how to protect the Slovene fishermen, whereas now, for every single problem he has the best and the only possible solution...," Peterle ironically comments on the diplomatic achievements of his predecessor in the informal part of the interview.

In this moment, Croato-Slovene relations are really in a crisis. Only a day after our conversation with Minister Peterle, one of the most critical problems between two states—the Krsko nuclear power plant—reached a climax again: Croatia was disconnected from the power grid after the station was overhauled! Nevertheless, calmly and composedly, Minister Peterle claims that the problem, just like all others, can be solved in a peaceful and civilized manner, to the satisfaction of both sides.

[Klancir] Recently you stated to the Viennese KURIER that the Slovene-Croatian relations had been broken up completely. Which political moves—on the Slovene or Croatian part—do you think are to blame for such a situation?

[Peterle] No, the KURIER journalist did not understand me well. The relations between Slovenia and Croatia have never been completely broken up at any time. Some contacts always exist. The truth is, however, that the relations between the two states are not developing as quickly as we would like them to.

[Klancir] Have the activities of the expert groups been interrupted, who are working on the maps regarding some delicate issues of territorial demarcation?

[Peterle] Those activities have not been completely interrupted. It is true that the mixed diplomatic commission is not working for the time being, because the Croatian side has not yet designated the new chairman, a successor of Mr. Rudolf, which prevents the commission to work normally. Right now we, the Slovene side, are preparing a response to the Croatian attitudes regarding the border in the bay of Piran. As for the Ljubljanska Banka and the Krsko nuclear power plant, the attitudes are going through the process of harmonization, while one can say that the agreements on trade and the cultural cooperation are ready to be signed. The agreement on trade [as published] is also ready to be signed.... Which is to say, if we were to "open" the package of agreements, some of them could certainly be signed that very moment. However, all those agreements are dealt with as a whole, rather than individually. That is, we are working, we are making progress, but not as quickly as we would want to. If one insists on assessing failures, then it can be said that both sides have failed to improve the mutual relations, rather than only one side.

[Klancir] In a confidential document of the Slovene Foreign Ministry, which was partly brought out by the Slovene REPUBLIKA, a more severe Slovene attitude in future negotiations with Croatia is announced. What is that more severe attitude supposed to be like?

[Peterle] Personally, I do not use such words in diplomatic endeavors.... No goal is accomplished by severeness. I think that a much better term is—consistency. So, I think that, in the relations with Croatia, we have to be consistent. Concretely, as far as borders are concerned, we shall continue our efforts to reach the agreement on implementing the first, general criterion regarding the demarcation. We are still proposing that one should start from the criterion of land registry districts. However, if both sides agree that such a criterion is not applicable, we shall pick a new one, or perhaps some additional criteria. We shall be consistent also in our insisting on the agreement on borders that was reached after the declarations of independency of both states, which is to say, we shall demand that the state of affairs as it was on 26 July 1991 be observed. In that respect one needs no severity—consistency will do, whereas sometimes we cannot be consistent without a high tone.

[Klancir] How will the Slovene severity reflect itself in the case of Krsko?

[Peterle] The Slovene attitude should also not be marked by severity in that case. That case is above all about a business relationship, rather than about politics. If the nuclear power plant produces power for both the Slovene and Croatian consumers, and the Slovene consumers are paying for it much more regularly than the Croatian consumers, the protests on the part of Slovenia are quite justifiable. The question is raised: Why are we crediting the Croatian consumers? So, the issue is about a purely business relationship. Both sides ought to pay their bills, and one should not make interstate problems out of that.... I personally insist, despite all the criticisms, on constructive talks, rather than on the hammer policy. I have agreed with [Croatian] Minister Mate Granic that we should be creating a constructive atmosphere, without tension, in which we shall be able to settle all problems more easily. A different issue is the question of a new legal arrangement of relations regarding Krsko, where many questions are still open.

[Klancir] REPUBLIKA has written that, in the aforementioned document, the sincerity of the Croatian side in the negotiations is called into question. Why is the Croatian sincerity called into question?

[Peterle] We do not need REPUBLIKA. Let us put it this way: While Mr. Franjo Greguric was prime minister, we signed the agreement on economic cooperation with him. However, the Croatian Parliament did not ratify that agreement, although Greguric's party, that is the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], has a great majority in the parliament. It was a slap in the face for the Slovene side....

We also have a fresher example of Croatian inconsistency in the policy on Slovenia. I was personally at the HDZ convention this year. In the contacts with many politicians, I got the impression that the Croatian side was seriously working on the improvement of Croat-Slovene relations. Many nice things were said.... However, as soon as I left Zagreb, the problem with the accommodation of refugees in Slovene resorts [in Istria] broke out, although we agreed quite concretely that we shall settle the issue in cooperation and as carefully as possible. That problem resounded in the Slovene public very negatively. It was all the same to the Slovenes whether the accommodation of refugees in the resorts was ordered by the Croatian defense minister or somebody else—they felt that somebody made fools out of them (still, the situation is much better now).

[Klancir] You have just said that you were at the HDZ convention. Rupel assessed your attempts to make progress in Slovene-Croatian relations through meetings of the two parties, that is your Christian Democrats and the HDZ, as completely unsuccessful.

[Peterle] Rupel will have to get used to the fact that democratic changes in two states bring about such contacts as well. That is nothing unusual. In Croatia, the HDZ is the most powerful political party, whereas in Slovenia the Christian Democrats are the second strongest party. The foreign ministers of those countries are members of those two parties, and it is logical that they cooperate, and communicate.

[Klancir] When the Commission for Interstate Relations in the Slovene Parliament proposed, for the first time, as a new phase of Slovene-Croatian negotiations, a top-level meeting, that is with Milan Kucan and Janez Drnovsek on one side, and Franjo Tudjman on the other side, you refused. Why?

[Peterle] So long as we have not worked out any concrete solutions on the expert level, I think it is senseless to listen to the principled assessments and good wishes regarding Slovene-Croatian relations. Which is to say, it is the experts who should be given priority, and only then a confirmation on the highest level. Drnovsek shares that opinion.... Until we arrange the balance of the Ljubljanska Banka, until we work out a solution for the nuclear power station—it makes no sense to listen to the statements saying that we should by all means get down to solving those problems. After all, that has already been said before....

[Klancir] In your interview with KURIER, you presented the problem of the border in the bay of Piran as a serious matter of conflict. Do you think that is the most difficult problem in Croat-Slovene relations? Are there any new suggestions for the settlement of the problem?

[Peterle] I am not sure whether I would place that problem on the top of the list of our problems, that is to say, whether I would define it as the most difficult. Perhaps.... It is certainly difficult—because the Croatian and the Slovene concepts of the solution are quite different. Slovenia rejects the model of condominium in the bay. The Slovene attitude is clear—one ought to start from the borders defined by land registries. One cannot expect Slovenia to agree to a limitation of the rights it had before. Slovenia has the right to free access to the sea that it had in former Yugoslavia.

[Klancir] How high is the problem of Krsko ranked on the list of problems?

[Peterle] There are really no reasons for Krsko to be a stumbling block in political negotiations. What is necessary is to prepare the foundations in the newly-created legal circumstances for a new agreement, that is, one ought to settle the question of ownership, debts, prices, nuclear waste. Yet, there are no reasons for the consumers not to pay for the power they are obtaining from Krsko. That is a matter of the business relationship.

[Klancir] If many agreements are almost ready to be signed—as you yourself say—why are not they signed then? Where are the obstacles to be found?

[Peterle] After the Slovene-Croatian meeting in Bizeljsko, the work on the expert level did not start developing at the expected pace. On the Slovene side the

opinion prevails that the Croatian side is slowing down the process, that it is not responding quickly enough to our proposals. Of course, it is possible that the Croatian side will say that the problem lies in Slovene slowness. Perhaps the Croatian negotiators have counted a much faster Slovene response to the latest Croatian idea regarding the settlement of the Piran Bay issue. However, we are preparing a very comprehensive respond to the proposal. Besides, it is clear that Croatia has some other priorities in foreign policy—for instance, the problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina—so that it cannot engage itself in relations with Slovenia as much as we would like it to.

[Klancir] So, you have understanding for the fact that Croatia is in a state of war....

[Peterle] The opposition reproaches me that I have too much understanding for Croatia!

[Klancir] In his interview with GLOBUS, Rupel expressed a sort of threat. He said: "It is clear that Slovenia might just as well inflict a lot of harm to Croatia on the international stage."

[Peterle] That could perhaps have happened during Rupel's mandate, who stated before that he did not want Croatia to be a millstone around his neck (excuse me, but Rupel does not represent the entire Slovene people). The political relations with any neighbor cannot be arranged in that way.... I am against any threats or blackmails in Slovene-Croatian relations. Croatia will certainly advance in its getting involved in the work of various international organizations.... All those organizations have certain criteria for the admittance, and if Croatia fulfills them—it will be admitted into those organizations. The same applies to admittance to the European Council. It is pretentious to claim that the European Council will take into consideration whether Slovenia is for or against it.

[Klancir] How do you comment on the results of a public opinion poll that was carried out in Slovenia, showing that Slovenes view Croatia as being their greatest enemy, and that they are not excluding the possibility of a war? A similar poll in Croatia shows that Croats do not hold such a view of Slovenes.

[Peterle] I admit, I got seriously worried about the results of that public opinion poll. If it is authentic, those are quite alarming results. It is difficult to develop the relations between two countries if a considerable part of the population views the neighboring country as being the greatest enemy. If we are trying to find out any rational reasons for such a view, perhaps we can find them out in the steps that the Croatian Government has made with regard to the Slovene resorts in Istria, and even with regard to the Buzet brewery. That has caused a considerable revolt among the Slovenes. Many of them have vacation houses in Istria, and the fear has been provoked that they might be soon taken away from them.

[Klancir] What is being concretely undertaken in order to improve Croat-Slovene relations?

[Peterle] We have to bring the work on the expert level to a conclusion. That is to say, we are awaiting the settlement of the problem of Ljubljanska Banka. In several days we will hold a meeting with the representatives of all sectors whose relations with Croatia are problematic. Tomorrow I am having a meeting with Zagar, the Croatian ambassador.... Besides, a written proposal made by Slovenia regarding the settlement of the Piran Bay issue is supposed to be finished soon. The experts are still working on it. I hope that the negotiations about the nuclear power station of Krsko will also advance; State Secretary Sovic has just told me that some new ideas are being worked out—ideas that might bring about a satisfactory solution for both sides. Which is to say, we are constantly working on it.... The Croatian side will probably designate the head of the diplomatic negotiating group. And then, quite calmly, we could go for the signing of certain agreements.

Foreign Reserves, Debt Reported for 1994

AU2001144694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] According to the data provided by the Bank of Slovenia, our country's foreign exchange reserves amounted to $1.472 billion by the end of November last year. In November they increased by $13 million. In the same month, our country's foreign debt amounted to $1.801 billion. Until the end of last year, we paid out 333 [million] out of 1.680 billion of the long-term debt. This year, our country's long-term debt should be reduced by $481 million more.

Entry Visas for Serbian Writer, Choir Approved

LD2201121894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] Ljubljana, January 22 (TANJUG)—The authorities of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia have refused to issue entry visas to world renowned Serbian writer Milorad Pavic and the well-known academic choir "Branko Krsmanovic" of Belgrade, who were to take part in a religious ceremony officiated by the local Serbian Orthodox community. The Slovenian Foreign Ministry has assessed, in agreement with the Ministry for Culture, that the arrival of Pavic and the "Branko Krsmanovic" choir in Ljubljana are "not in the interest of the Slovenian state," TANJUG learned. The ministry did not specify in what way the artists were a threat to the state of Slovenia.

Pavic and the "Branko Krsmanovic" choir were to take part in an academy marking the day of St. Sava in Ljubljana, which is organized by the Serbian Orthodox community. The action by the Slovenian authorities has in fact indirectly prevented this ceremony from taking place. St. Sava day has been celebrated by Serbian Orthodox Christians on January 27 since the early

thirteenth century when Rastko Nemanjic, a Serbian medieval ruler, monk and educator was proclaimed Saint Sava after his death.

Peran Boskovic, a priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Ljubljana, recently sent a letter to Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, urging him to help enable the holding of Orthodox religious ceremonies. There has been no reply yet. This indirect assault on religious ceremonies of non-Slovenes by the Slovenian authorities, which took place despite promises by certain Catholic Church dignitaries that other religions would not be discriminated against in Slovenia, might provoke an embittered protest by tens of thousands of Serbs who live in Slovenia.

Slovenia recently twice in two weeks banned entry into Slovenia to well-known Serbian pop singer Mocilo Bajagic Bajaga, although his concerts in Ljubljana and Maribor had been sold out.

Federal

Plan To Trade 'Super Dinar' on World Market

LD2201105394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1032 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, January 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav national currency might soon join convertible currencies on the world money market because the new dinar will be fully convertible, Professor Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, the author of the programme for the country's monetary reconstruction, has said in an interview to TANJUG. The new currency will have 100 percent backing in hard currency and gold. At the very onset of the programme, it will be backed by half a billion dollars, he said.

The implementation of the programme for the monetary reconstruction will begin on Monday, January 24, and its primary objective will be to curb the world record hyperinflation, which amounted to one million percent in December. The old dinar will remain in circulation in parallel with the convertible dinar, but the government has decided to stop the issue of money which has no backing.

The author of the idea of a "super dinar" said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), in spite of being under severe international sanctions for 20 months, has managed to secure a hard currency backing for the reconstruction of its monetary and fiscal system. The state should stimulate the return of capital which entrepreneurs, private banks and firms took out of the country in the past few years, since this could be the most substantial "outside" support to the new programme at the present time because of the financial blockade, Avramovic said.

The exact amount of this capital is not clear—an estimated five billion dollars or more—but it would be a significant financial backing for the programme in its entirety for a long-term period, especially to the convertibility of the dinar.

Experts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) last week turned down a Yugoslav Government request to join in the formulation of the stabilization programme.

The United Nations (U.N.) Sanctions Committee has not answered Yugoslavia's request of December last year to thaw at least part of its hard currency reserves in foreign banks, which were frozen 20 months ago when the implementation of the U.N. sanctions began. Under the government programme, these funds would serve as a backing for the new sound national currency.

Economic Recovery Program Scheduled

LD2301205894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2047 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia on Monday [24 January] launches a programme of economic recovery and reconstruction of the monetary system, Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic said on Sunday. Zebic said the government on Sunday adopted the last in a series of measures necessary for launching the economic reform programme which would primarily focus on curbing hyperinflation. The programme for slashing the monster inflation whose monthly rate reached one million percent last December starts with the issuing of the new convertible dinar with 100-percent gold and hard currency backing.

Other measures include a radical reduction of the primary issue and an increase in production geared for the market made almost non-existent after many companies withdrew their products from the market because of hyperinflation.

Economic expert Dragoslav Avramovic, the chief architect of Yugoslavia's stabilization programme, said that the package did not envisage wage or price freezes and that the state could opt for such measures only in a very limited number of cases.

Government Adopts Decision on Granic Meeting

LD2201154794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 22 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session on 21 January, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia adopted a decision on the meeting between Federal Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic and Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, scheduled for 27 January in Geneva, the Federal Information Ministry announced today. The representatives of the Yugoslav and Croatian Governments will discuss topical humanitarian issues, as well as possibilities for the further normalization of Yugoslav-Croatian relations that will not prejudge a final political solution, the announcement says.

Ministry Condemns Macedonian 'Intolerance'

LD2101153994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs today expressed concern in connection with the recent arrest and expulsion of two priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The priests were accused of having "conducted religious rites in several villages in the municipality of Kumanovo without the permission of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and thus instigated national hatred and intolerance."

Recalling that this is not the first occasion on which the authorities of the former Yugoslav republic have shown intolerance toward the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses that by such behavior Skopje is depriving the Serbian people living in Macedonia of their religious rights. This is in contravention of international norms and documents that the Former Yugoslav Republic of

Macedonia has accepted, the statement, which was forwarded to TANJUG today, goes on to say.

"This incites an atmosphere of insecurity and fear among the Serbs in Macedonia, whose status, despite the promises and alleged readiness of the relevant authorities, has not as yet been defined in the Constitution. In addition to the existing discrimination regarding the use of their mother tongue, employment, education, and information, this behaviour by the Macedonian authorities makes Serbs feel like second rate citizens," the statement says.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs expects the Macedonian side to take all necessary measures so that there should be no recurrence of such incidents. The ministry expects the Macedonian side to start resolving the issue of the constitutional status of the Serbian people living in Macedonia in the near future, in accordance with highest CSCE and UN standards.

Serbia

Milosevic, Opposition Discuss Unity Government

Djindic Meets With Milosevic

LD2101150794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 January (TANJUG)—After talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today, Zoran Djindjic, the main candidate of the Democratic Party (DS) and the president of the DS executive board, said that they had talked about a government of national unity. After nearly an hour of talks with the Serbian president, Djindjic said that no party could at this moment take the responsibility for forming the government, and particularly not, as he stressed, the party that had so far formed all Serbian governments. He said that they did not discuss the post of the prime minister, but added that it had been stressed during the talks that he had to be "a man of consensus."

The DS believes that the new government's program has to be different from all those we have had so far, Djindjic said. According to him, the Serbian president said that the future government's composition will not be determined by party allegiance.

Commenting on his impressions of the talks with the Serbian president, Djindjic emphasized that the government would be some kind of a government of national unity, which should have an all-party support and a nonpartisan program.

The DS stance is that the president of the new Serbian National Assembly should be an opposition deputy, and we hope that this will be the case, Djindjic said. He added that the president of Serbia "has a somewhat different opinion." According to Djindjic, the Serbian president said that the Socialist Party of Serbia, as the strongest party, had the right to the post of the president of the Serbian Assembly, while the opposition parties could have the posts of deputy presidents. The DS insists that "the parties [as received] have indisputable control of the finance, media, and internal affairs," Djindjic said.

"If we are not in the position to control for 24 hours a day the banks, state media, and the police, and in particular the struggle against crime, there is no point in talking about a new government and a new coalition," Djindjic stressed. Djindjic believes that the new government will not be formed in the next two weeks.

After Djindjic, Vuk Draskovic went in for talks with President Milosevic. Before that, he briefly said to reporters: "I have come to meet him and to talk."

Draskovic Meets With Milosevic

LD2101173094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, the leading candidate of Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia], leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], declared this afternoon that he had told Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that an opposition deputy should be appointed president of the Serbian National Assembly. After a two-hour meeting with the Serbian president, Draskovic told reporters that a stable government can arise from the present parliament—where political forces are equally balanced—only if the post of assembly president goes to an opposition deputy.

He recalled that Depos holds the largest number of seats among the opposition parties. The SPO leader said he is convinced that the Socialist Party of Serbia "will not give up the position of republican assembly speaker." He added that he agreed with the Serbian president that there can be no ruling party and opposition in the struggle against hunger, poverty, the sanctions, and the war.

We should coordinate political strategy on these issues, which are common objectives, stressed the SPO leader. Draskovic said that he reached agreement in principle with the Serbian president that a spirit of tolerance should prevail in the new republican assembly where, he said, facts should be at loggerheads, not people and parties.

The SPO leader underlined that he cannot say he is a greater optimist after the meeting with President Milosevic, but that he is not a greater pessimist either. He said that he never shouted "Saddam, Saddam" [the slogan of the 8 March 1991 antigovernment demonstrations in Belgrade when protesters shouted "Slobo-Saddam"], and that his criticism is not aimed at the person, but at the politician's behavior and actions. He said he is satisfied with the talks with Milosevic, that the meeting was frank and dynamic, and he described the president of Serbia, whom he met for the first time, as a congenial and witty man.

Hungarian Leader, Milosevic Meet

LD2101173994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Andras Agoston, leader of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM], said after today's meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that he supports the idea of setting up a government of national unity. After the 20-minute meeting with the Serbian president, Agoston said he would be "pleased if someone from the oppostion became president of the Serbian Assembly." The DZVM cannot be the weight to "tip the scales," Agoston said, repeating his party's earler stand. "Given our demands for a three-degree autonomy [local, cultural, and personal autonomy], even the opposition is, to us, like a ruling party," stressed Agoston. None of the opposition parties support our idea of a three-degree autonomy."

Radicals Reject Meeting

LD2101170694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Tomislav Nikolic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], announced today that he refused to attend a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. A statement dispatched to TANJUG says that along with some other leaders of the opposition, Nikolic was invited to meet the president of the republic today, and that the meeting was scheduled to take place at 1600. "I refused to go to his office because I have nothing to discuss with Slobodan Milosevic as long as state television imposes a blockade on the SRS," the statement by the SRS deputy chairman says.

Opposition Comments on Talks

AU2101215094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Interviews with Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, Andras Agoston, leader of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, and Milomir Minic, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Serbia, by unidentified correspondent following talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 21 Jan—recorded]

[Text] [Djindjic] The president expressed a will to see the future government consist of people regardless of their party affiliations, a government of national unity, a government that will get the support of all the parties, a government whose program will be supraparty and directed at solving economic and social problems and restoring order to those services that are indispensable to the citizens' lives.

[Correspondent] Did he perhaps discuss the prime minister?

[Djindjic] No, no. It was quite clearly stated during the conversation that the prime minister must be someone who can be a man of consensus.

[Correspondent] On the basis of this conversation, do you expect that the assembly will be stabler than the former one?

[Djinjdic] I believe that this idea of a government of national unity can have a very calming effect on all party conflicts, and on the balance of power generally. This is—so to speak—a strong point around which the parties can now gather, and every one of them can say what they are ready to invest into this, and what they expect in return. This is a very good start, and I believe that this can calm the situation both in the parliament and on our political scene. Therefore, this conclusion and the expressed desire to assemble all those who can contribute to the situation in one government in any case promise a stabler and calmer parliament and calmer work in this parliament, which will be dedicated to solving concrete existential issues rather than interparty conflicts.

[Correspondent] In any event, are you optimistic?

[Djindjic] Yes, in any event.

[Draskovic] When it comes to fighting poverty, winning the battle against hunger and crime, lifting the sanctions, ending the war, and achieving economic recovery and progress, there can be no opposition and government. These must be the shared aims of everyone. These shared aims call for a political strategy that will be in accordance with all this.

[Correspondent] Do you expect the new parliament to be stabler than the former one and will produce a stabler government?

[Draskovic] Such a parliament could give us a stabler government only if the post of assembly chairman were given to the opposition, and of course, the Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos] is the strongest political group in the opposition. This would constitute a complete recognition of the electoral result. We have reached an agreement in principle, and I do not see that we could have disagreed in principle, that the parliament should be permeated by a spirit of tolerance, that facts are what is to be disputed, that facts should clash rather than people, that parties and party vanities should clash, party positions on the list, but only facts [sentence as heard].

[Correspondent] Mr. Draskovic, since this is your first meeting with Mr. Milosevic, and since you have said certain rather uncomfortable things about him as a person, how do you personally see this meeting?

[Draskovic] I have never said anything about him as a person.

[Correspondent] Saddam, Saddam.

[Draskovic] That was [pauses], let me just see [pauses], I would like someone to come up with a single piece of

evidence that I have ever said Saddam, Saddam, or anything similar. It was others who said this, students, young people, citizens, not me. However, when it comes to criticizing President Milosevic, he heads a state, our fate frequently depends on his actions, and whoever holds a public post must also be exposed to the risk of being criticized. The president is a charming man, with a sense of humor, but okay, that has nothing to do with the political side, but since you insist on the atmosphere of the talks, I believe that the atmosphere was mutually open, trusting.

[Agoston] We also agreed that—even though this is the first time I have ever heard of this idea—the idea of electing a government of national unity was a good idea, a government comprised of experts from various parties. I believe that it is important that precisely at this point, in these times, such unity is achieved, which will make it possible for all of us to transcend this difficult situation.

[Correspondent] Could you define more clearly your position—that is, the party's position in relation to the ruling party and the opposition?

[Agoston] Well, I think that this relation—for us at least—has always been clear. We believe that, considering our demands, the opposition is also an opposition for us.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minic, since President Slobodan Milosevic has lately been increasingly insisting on a government of national unity, how does the Socialist Party [of Serbia], as the strongest party and the one with the greatest number of deputies in the parliament, see this?

[Minic] After both the first and second multiparty elections, and today, President Milosevic quite openly and clearly insisted on the unification of political forces in Serbia, as has been defined, he favors a government of national unity. [sentence as heard] We believe that, after the third multi-party elections in Serbia, conditions have been met for surpassing the first—so to speak—infant diseases of parliamentary life in the republic and that we should strive to conduct such a political struggle that will unify the forces in Serbia. As far as the forming of new republican governments is concerned, the president always felt that—at the time of the former elections, too—we should be open to accepting people into the government on the basis that they are competent people who are successfully dealing with problems in these times, so that we see this government of national unity as completely open to the most competent and expert people who will assemble in such a government, so that we can solve social, economic, and political problems which we face.

We believe that after these elections, conditions have been met for furthering parliamentary life in the republic, for having a parliament where parties will compete in trying to find those legal solutions which will be best suited to solving the economic and social interests of our people, as we have said, for Serbia. [sentence as heard] Therefore, we consider political life to be a way for parties to clash over such projects. [sentence as heard] There will be a competition between projects in the parliament, arguments will clash, and they will be taken into consideration, rather than who is saying what and what they are striving for. [sentence as heard] Therefore, we believe that the parliament will have its function.

[Correspondent] Are the Socialists ready to be without a prime minister?

[Minic] We believe that the paramount thing right now is to constitute the republican parliament, while [pauses] as the strongest party, since we have convincingly won the elections, that the president will keep in mind [pauses] to give the mandate to someone from the Socialist Party of Serbia, or depending on the concept. [sentence as heard] We will see how this call for a government of national unity will be reflected [in the public], and depending on this concept, after the parliament is constituted, we will discuss the government in the following days. [sentence as heard]

Assembly Discusses Election of Speaker

LD2401104494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Following the unanimous election of a 15-strong approval committee, on the basis of whose report the Serbian Assembly is to approve today the mandates of 250 deputies elected on 19 December last year, Vojislav Dimitrijevic, chairman of the constitutive session, called a break until 1400. At the same time, he called on the deputies to submit in writing their reasoned proposals for the new speaker of the parliament, who is to be elected today. Thirty deputies can propose a candidate for the speaker.

Opposition Proposes Draskovic

AU2401094894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Report by Zoran Vaskovic from the Serbian Assembly]

[Text] After a three months break, the deputies have again convened in the hall of the Serbian Assembly. This time the newly appointed deputies are sitting on the benches. The session should start any minute. Dr. Vojislav Dimitrijevic, the oldest deputy, has still not taken the seat of the chairman. Let me remind you that Dr. Dimitrijevic chaired the previous assembly last year. He will be assisted in chairing the session by the two youngest deputies, Aleksandar Vucic and Milan Dragisic. These deputies from the Serbian Radical Party have already taken their seats at the chairing table.

The first part of the session should be taken up by the verification of the deputies' mandates. One of the 250 deputies will be elected chairman of the Assembly. The four deputy chairmen are also to be elected today. At least 30 deputies are needed to put forward a candidate for chairman. We have found out unofficially that the Socialist Party of Serbia will put forward Dr. Zoran Arandjelovic, the previous chairman, as candidate. We have also found out unofficially that the Democratic

Movement of Serbia [Depos] will put forward as candidate for chairman one of the following deputies: Vuk Draskovic, Dusan Mihajlovic, Milan Nikovic, or Borivoje Borovic. So one of them will be the Depos candidate for chairman of the Assembly. The voting will be as the deputies decide, public or secret. The candidate who gets the majority vote will be elected chairman.

When the Assembly is constituted the procedure will commence for the formation of the government. The president of Serbia will put forward the candidate for the new prime minister. At least 126 votes are needed for his election. The deadline for the formation of the government has not been given.

Esteemed listeners, I am saying all this in the expectation that the Serbian Assembly session will begin. It is about to start. We will let you know more in our next newscast.

Kosovo

Albanians To Hold Assembly Session 'Next Week'

AU2101154494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic]

[Text] The Pristina-based newspaper ZERI writes that they have learned from sources close to Ibrahim Rugova that the first session of the republic of Kosovo's parliament will be held—I quote—somewhere in Pristina next week. ZERI also reports that the mandates of deputies, elected two years ago in the Albanian elections in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija], will be verified at the session.

In a statement for this paper, the Albanian politician Adem Demaci commented on this information and said that the Serbs have held 12 multiparty elections in the past 12 years [figures as received], while the Albanians went to the polls only once. Rexhep Qosja, the most influential Albanian intellectual, said that if Serbia allowed the session of the republic of Kosovo parliament to take place, this would confirm his earlier assessment that the organizers of the elections and the Albanian parliament were actually Quislings. Let me remind you that the first attempt to hold a session of the phantom republic of Kosovo's parliament in the Pristina-based Alaudin school [medresa Alaudin] was prevented by the police because there was a chance of this event provoking a rebellion of the Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija.

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